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REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 12th June 1909.

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No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	BENGALI—*concld.*				
46	"Samvad Purnachandrodaya"	Calcutta	Daily ...	Purna Chandra Ghattak, age 45, Brahmin.	50
47	"Sanjivani"	Ditto	Weekly ...	Shiva Nath Sastri and Ramananda Chatterjee.	7,000
48	"Sevika"	Diamond Harbour ...	Monthly ...		
49	"Soltan"	Calcutta	Weekly ...	Moulvi Muhammad Monirazzam of Chittagong.	1,500
50	"Sonar Bharat" ...	Howrah	Do. ...	Baikunta Das Gupta, age 35, Baidya	3,000
51	"Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda-Bazar Patrika."	Calcutta	Do. ...	Basik Mohan Chakravarti, age 37, Brahmin.	2,000
52	"Swadesh"	Ditto	Do. ...	S. C. Lahiri, Pat. Lovett and Pundit Baijnath Bidyanidhi.	500
53	"Tamalika"	Tamluk	Do. ...	Sita Nath Mondal, age 26, Hindu ...	900
54	"Twenty-four Parganas Vartavaha."	Bhawanipur ...	Do. ...	Hem Chandra Nag, age 26, Kayastha	500
	HINDI.				
55	"Bharat Mitra" ...	Calcutta	Weekly ...	Mahabir Prosad, age 35, Vaisya; and Amrito Lal Chakravarti, age 46, Brahmin.	3,200
56	"Bihar Bandhu" ...	Bankipore ...	Do. ...	Nanda Kumar Sharma, age 35, Kayastha.	500
57	"Bir Bharat"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Prantosh Dutta, age 35, Kayastha ...	500
58	"Ghar Bandhu" ...	Ranchi	Fortnightly ...	Rev. E. Muller, Superintendent, G. E. L. Mission, Ranchi.	1,000
59	"Gyanoday"	Calcutta	Monthly ..	.....	
60	"Jain Gajat"	Arrah	Weekly ...	Printed and Published in the United Provinces.	
61	"Jain Pataka"	Calcutta	Monthly ...	.....	
62	"Hindi Bangavasi" ...	Ditto	Weekly ...	Hari Kissen Joahar, age 30, Khettri	4,000
63	"Hitavarta"	Ditto	Do. ...	Rao Purandkar, age 29, Mahratta Brahmin.	3,000
64	"Lakshmi Upadesh Lahri"	Gaya	Monthly ...	.....	
65	"Marwari"	Calcutta	Do. ...	R. K. Tebrevala, age 34, Hindu Agarwalla.	500
66	"Marwari Bandhu" ...	Ditto	Weekly ...	.....	
67	"Narsingha"	Ditto	Monthly ...	.....	
68	"Siksha"	Bankipore ...	Weekly ...	Gohkaran Singh, age 38, Babhan ...	255
	PERSIAN.				
69	"Roznama-i-Mukaddas-Hablul Matin."	Calcutta	Weekly ...	Syed Jalaluddin Alq Husaini, Muhammadan.	
	URDU.				
70	"Ayini-i-chatar Gupt" ...	Bankipore ...	Do. ...	.....	
71	"Al Panch"	Ditto	Do. ...	.....	
72	"Bihar Gazette" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Muhammad Murad Ali Khan, age 42,	250
73	"Dar-us Sultanat" ...	Calcutta	Do. ...	Quazi Abdul Latif, age 35, Muhammadan.	200
74	"Khawah Mokhab Panch"	Gaya	Do. ...	.....	
	URIYA.				
75	"Garjatbasini"	Talcher	Do. ...	Bhagi Ruth Misra, age 40, Brahmin.	
76	"Manorama"	Baripada	Do. ...	.....	
77	"Nilachal Samachar" ...	Puri	Do. ...	Baidya Nath Singh, age 31, Punjabi	600
78	"Sambalpur Hitaishini" ...	Bamra	Do. ...	Dinabandhu Padhan	
79	"Samvad Vahika" ...	Balasore	Do. ...	Harish Chandra Sarkar, age 52, Sadgop.	500
80	"Uriya and Navasamvad" ...	Cuttack	Do. ...	Ram Tarak Sen, age 47, Tamuli ...	700
81	"Utkal Darpan" ...	Sambalpur ...	Do. ...	.....	
82	"Utkal Dipika" ...	Cuttack	Do. ...	Gauri Sankar Roy, age 75	800
83	"Utkal Sakti" ...	Calcutta	Do. ...	.....	
84	"Utkal Varta" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Moni Lall Moherana, age 45, Hindu Karmokar.	500

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

[*As it stood on the 1st January 1909.*]

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.	No.
	Bengali.					6A
1	"Anusilan"	Calcutta	Weekly ...	.....	1,000	
2	"Bangabandhu" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Barendro Lall Mukerjee, age 27, Hindu	500	55A
3	"Bangabhumi" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Gets contributions from different writers.		69A
4	"Bangaratna" ...	Banaghat ...	Do. ...	Kanai Lal Das, age 25, Karmokar	10	
5	"Bangavasi"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Behari Lal Sarkar, age 52, Kayastha; Hari Mohan Mukerji, age 41, Brahmin; and Durga Das Lahiri.	15,00	
6	"Bankura Darpan" ...	Bankura	Do. ...	Biswanath Mukerji, B.L	71	75A 75B
7	"Basumati"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Radhika Prosad Ghose, age 37, Hindu	13,00	
8	"Bharat Chitra" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	.....		
9	"Birbhum Hitaishi" ...	Suri	Do. ...	Rajranjan Sen, age 34, Baidya ...	30	47
10	"Birbhum Varta" ...	Do.	Do. ...	Debendra Nath Chakravarti, age 36, Brahmin.	80	
11	"Burdwan Sanjivani" ...	Burdwan	Do. ...	Probadhananda Sarkar	90	
12	"Chinsura Vartavaha" ...	Chinsura	Do. ...	Dinanath Mukerji, age 42, Brahmin ...	65	
13	"Daily Hitavadi" ...	Calcutta	Daily ...	.....		
14	"Dainik Chandrika" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Hari Dass Dutt, age 37, Kayastha, ...	20	
15	"Dharma-o-Karma" ...	Ditto	Monthly ...	.....		
16	"Education Gazette" ...	Chinsura	Weekly ...	Shibnath Bannerji, M A., B.L.	1,50	
17	"Ekata"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Nafur Chandra Sarkar, age 35, Kayastha.	1,20	
18	"Hitavadi"	Ditto	Do. ...	Panch Kowri Banerji, Jaladhar Sen, age 46, Hindu, Jogendra Kumar Chatterjee of Chandragore, and Manindranath Bose of Chitta.	30,00	
19	"Hindusthan"	Ditto	Do. ...	Hari Das Dutt, age 37, Kayastha ...	1,00	
20	"Howrah Hitaishi" ...	Howrah	Do. ...	Gishpaty Kabyatirtha, age 36, Kayastha.	3,50	
21	"Jagaran"	Bagerhat ...	Do. ...	Behari Lal Roy, age 45, Kayastha; Beni Madhab Ganguly, age 35, Brahmin; and Monmotha Nath Roy, age 32, Brahmin.	60	
22	"Jasohar"	Jessore	Do. ...	Ananda Mohan Chaudhury, age 34, Kayastha.	50	
23	"Kalyani"	Magura	Do. ...	Biseswar Mukherjee, age 45, Brahmin; and Tarak Brahma Sikdar, Kayastha.	1,20	
24	"Khulnavasi"	Khulna	Do. ...	Gopal Chandra Mukerjee, age 50, Brahmin.	30	
25	"Manbhum"	Purulia	Do. ...	Bagola Chandra Ghosh, age 36, Kayastha.	30	
26	"Matribhumi"	Chandernagore ...	Do. ...	Surendra Nath Sen, age 32, Hindu ...	50	
27	"Mihir-o-Sudhakar" ...	Calcutta	Do. ...	Sayyid Osman of Basirhat, age 38; and Maulvi Reyazuddin Ahmad of Kareya.	4,00	
28	"Murshidabad Hitaishi" ...	Saidabad	Do. ...	Bonwari Lal Gpswami, age 44, Brahmin.	10	
29	"Nadia"	Krishnagar ...	Do. ...	Susil Kumar Maitra, age 28, Brahmin.	80	
30	"Navajivani-o-Swadeshi Christian."	Calcutta	Tri-Weekly ...	Revd. Lall Behari Shah, age 50, Native Christian.	30	
31	"Nayak"	Ditto	Daily and Bi-Weekly.	.....	50	
32	"Nihar"	Contai	Weekly ...	Madhu Sudhan Jana, age 49	20	
33	"Nivedan"	Calcutta	Do. ...			
34	"Pallivarta"	Bongong	Do. ...	Charu Ch. Roy, age 35, Kayastha ...	40	
35	"Pallivasi"	Kalna	Do. ...	Sosi Bhusan Banerji, age 42, Brahmin	60	
36	"Prachar"	Calcutta	Monthly ...			
37	"Prasun"	Katwa	Weekly ...	Purna Chandra Chatterji, age 42; and Banku Behari Ghose, age 38, Goala.	50	
38	"Pratikar"	Berhampore ...	Do. ...	Kamakhya Prosad Ganguli, age 60, Brahmin.	10	
39	"Prava"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Mahendra Nath Chakravarti, age 39, Brahmin.	3	
40	"Prabhat"	Ditto	Do. ...	Sailendra Nath Chatterjee, age 26, Brahmin.	3	
41	"Purulia Darpan" ...	Purulia	Do. ...	Amulya Ratan Chatterjee, age 37, Brahmin.	3	
42	"Ratnakar"	Asansol	Do. ...	Rakhal Chandra Chakravarti, age 26, Brahmin; and Gopal Chandra Mittra, age 26, Kayastha.	5	
43	"Samaj Darpan" ...	Salkia	Do. ...	Satya Charan Banerjee, age 28, Brahmin.	1,2	
44	"Samay"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Ganendra Nath Das, age 54, Brahmin	4	
45	"Sanmilani	Serampore ...	Do. ...			

Additions to, and alterations in, the list of Vernacular Newspapers.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Bengali.				
6A	"Bangla"	Santipur	Weekly ...	.....	.....
	Hindi.				
55A	"Bharat Bandhu" ...	Calcutta	Weekly ...	.....	.....
69A	"Tirhut Samachar" ...	Muzaffarpur ...	Do. ...	Jaganand Kumar	.....
	Urdu.				
75A	"Najmul Akhbar" ...	Calcutta	Weekly ...	S. M. Nasim Husain	.....
75B	"Star of India" ...	Arrah	Do. ...	Zahurul Haque	.....
	Bengali.				
47	"Sandhya"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Ceased to exist	.....

I.—Foreign Politics.

ALPUNCH, May 28th, 1909.

The Czar's intended visit to Constantinople.

In noticing that the Czar is about to visit Italy, from where he intends going to Constantinople, the *Alpunch* [Bankipore] of the 28th remarks, that although he news sounds strange in the ear, there is nothing to be surprised at for the ever changing time is known to have performed miracles. We must train our ears to be ready to catch extraordinary and startling news.

NAMAY MUQADDAS HABLUL MATIN, May 31st, 1909.

Persian politics.

2. The *Namai Muqaddas Hablul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 31st May mistrusts the recent proclamation of the Shah sanctioning the re-opening of the Parliament, granting amnesty to all the Nationalists and allowing the political refugees abroad to return to Persia in consideration of the fact that no two proclamations of the Shah issued during the last two years were consistent with each other, but advises the Persians to give their acquiescence to it provided it is brought into operation, and to guard the new rules of election taking care not to allow the insertion of any clause that may be detrimental to the interests of the nation or contrary to the fundamental laws of the country.

The paper points out to the Persians that the recent proclamation of Shah is not the result of the Anglo-Russian advice or the apparent pressure brought to bear on the Shah for the present anarchy in Persia owes its origin to the secret as well as open hostile movements of the Russians and the English in respect of affairs in this country, neither is it the result of the good intention of the Persian courtiers, for it is not possible to turn a cloth white by washing which is jet black, but it is the result of the pressure of the Persians themselves who rose up in arms to vindicate their national rights. The English and the Russians have shown their hostility to the Persians even to the last stage by sending their forces into Persia from the South and the North in order to intimidate the nation and to prevent its laying seige to the capital which was already under threat of the national army. It may well be said that the Shah's proclamation is the result of the national movements and a full year's losses and injuries sustained by the Persians.

What is necessary for the nation to maintain its dignity is that it should refuse to accept any help from the neighbouring Powers even if it is offered for fear lest the intervention of the foreigners may be a prelude to their future settlement in the country.

The Nationalists should thankfully give their assent to the Royal Proclamation, but bear in mind to look to the following points at the time its terms are given effect to:—

(1) The national force should not be disbanded under any account or security, or even at the intercession of the foreign Powers, for the integrity of the country and the preservation of national honour are possible only under the protection of this force.

(2) The national leaders should be allowed to retain their present position and posts, so that the nation may not incur the odium of being ungrateful to its deliverers, and thus lose their sympathy which it requires for future emergency, as it is not unreasonable to anticipate a similar national calamity again. The Nationalists should also organise a centre of their own to give effect to their national schemes. The need for it is indispensably felt, in consideration of the fact that if the young Turks had not their own centre of activities, they would not have gained so easy a victory over the machinations of the Sultan.

(3) The nation should banish from its mind the terror in which it unnecessarily stands of the foreigners, and which has overwhelmed it, for the meddlesome policy of the neighbouring Powers, who have otherwise no right of intervention in the civil affairs of a country, finds its explanation in this wild terror. It should then turn its attention to safeguarding its rights and demarcating the boundaries of the neighbouring territories. It is not possible for a Power, however strong it may be, to break down the strength of even a small and weak country, the people of which are united to defend their common

rights: such was the case with Transvaal, which could not be forced to yield to the English. Our neighbours, especially Russia, are to-day at the height of weakness, division and lawlessness. Our unreasonable fear has encouraged them to commit unlawful acts of foolhardiness, but the turn which the Persian policy has now taken will soon compel them to retrace their steps from Azerbaijan, overwhelmed with shame for the excesses they have committed.

(4) The nationalists should aim at perfect accuracy in framing the rules for the new election for the honour of the nation, and the strength of the Parliament hinges exclusively on their soundness and perfection.

NAMAI MUQADDAS HABLUL MATIN, May 31st, 1909.

Russian policy in Persia.

3. Referring to Reuter's despatch from Tehran under date the 31st May, stating that the Nationalists at Tabriz are bitterly complaining against the high-handed proceedings of the Russians, that Sattar Khan and other Nationalist leaders, on being refused protection by the British Legation, have taken refuge in the Turkish Consulate for fear of being arrested, that the Russians are collecting sleepers for constructing a railway between Jalfa and Tabriz, and that Turkish soldiers numbering 2,500 have occupied Maragha, the *Namai Muqaddas Hablul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 31st May has the following:—

The Russians brought down a substantial force into Azerbaijan under the false notion that Turkey would, for years, remain involved in her internal revolution. After the settlement of the Stamboul question, we were sanguine that Turkey would send her forces into Azerbaijan as a response to Russia. A ante-dated telegram from Stamboul stating that the Ottoman army was being mobilized in its Asiatic Provinces had the same bearing. About a year and-a-half ago the Turkish forces had to evacuate Sujbulak on being objected to by the Russians and English, who announced of their having agreed to preserve the integrity of Persia. But now that the Russians have openly quartered their forces at Tabriz, the Turks have responded by bringing down their forces in Sujbulak and Maragha, and may possibly send some to other quarters too. It is an admitted fact that so long as the Russian army does not vacate Tabriz, the Turks will not withdraw their forces from Azerbaijan, and if such a state of things is allowed to continue any longer, the whole of Azerbaijan will gradually come under the embrace of Turkey. Religion and common sense make it clear that, if at any time the Persians find themselves incapable of preserving their intergrity on account of the excesses of the neighbouring Powers, they will be willing to place themselves under the yoke of their co-religionists, the Turks, in preference to that of the other Powers.

If the Russians will not refrain from their unlawful proceedings in Persia, the Persians and the Turks will ere long combine to pull out the brains from (the head of) the time of the Russians, who will then have to sustain a loss instead of the looked for gain.

It is no secret that Russia is not capable of giving battle to Turkey, and in case a war is declared between them, victory must show its back to the Russians, who may lose even the Caucasian Province in their greed for acquiring Azerbaijan, and this because the Caucasian Province is inhabited mainly by the brave and liberty-seeking Turks, who cherish a deadly hatred against the Russian Government, and are watching for an opportunity to rise which would be the more favourable, if Russia were to concentrate her army to meet Turkey. Moreover, the whole of the Russian Empire is in a state of convulsion, and we have been expecting a terrible revolution at any moment. The Turkish movement is, in reality, just what ought to have been made in answer to the intrusive movements of the Russians in Azerbaijan, and the English will shortly have to be ashamed of their having given support to those movements. We apparently perceive that Germany has a hand in these revolutions. Comprehending how the Persians cherish a natural hatred against the Russians, there can be no doubt that, if the Persians are not left to look after their own affairs, all the people of Persia will offer secret as well as open support to the interests of Germany. This will undoubtedly go against the interests of the English, but the Persians cannot help it. It may be remarked that the policy of supporting the excesses of the Russians in Persia adopted by Sir Edward Grey has been freezing the love for the English in the hearts of the Persians.

4. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 8th June, in referring to the military preparedness of the Afghans and the Pathans, and in speaking of the spirit of unrest and "awakening" which is now apparent amongst Musalman peoples of the earth as well as in China, writes that a Chinese irruption into India will mean the loss of everything that Bengalis value, their races, their religion, their temporal as well as eternal interests. Similarly a Pathan invasion will mean the conversion of the Bengalis to Islam, if they are to save their lives. This the Bengalis realise quite well, and they also realise that the maintenance of the British Government means at least the maintenance of our national individuality. Why do not Englishmen also recognise this? If they did, they would cease attempting to set Hindus and Musalmans by the ears. Bengalis will be the gate-keepers of India's North-Eastern Frontier, as the Punjabis have been of the North-Western Frontier. It is the Bengali alone who can save India from the horrors of a Chinese irruption. Let Government bestir itself now to conciliate the Bengalis by undoing the Partition and trusting educated Bengalis.

A Chinese irruption into India.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 8th, 1909.

5. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June is afraid that the frequent risings of Pathans on the North-West Frontiers of India have a sinister significance. These Pathans are providing themselves with rifles of the newest pattern, and the paper thinks that the new awakening in the Islamic world has not failed to exercise some influence on the Frontier Pathans; and since an awakening among these people never ends in words, but in the shedding of blood, the paper is anxious to see what it all leads to.

The Frontier Pathans.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 2nd, 1909, etc.

Seeing the alarm to the Englishmen caused by the smuggling of arms and specially smokeless gun powder in the Afghan territory, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June does not understand why there should be so much alarm, and why Government should not adopt a different and more practicable policy than make vain efforts of stopping the import. When even a Bengali of India can be a Field Marshal in a foreign country, and can extort praise from even the bitterest enemy of the Indians like the *Civil and Military Gazette* why should the English be so alarmed when they rule over hundreds of brave races? All that they have to do is to put faith in then (literally, off the hated curtain of prejudice). Let them candidly consider the Indians as being their own men and India not a separate country. This being done, neither the Pathans nor their smokeless powder, not even the whole would can injure one hair of their body.

Protective laws are necessary at least till the industries of India are improved, but the Government has restricted their development by imposing Excise duties.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*a*)—*Police.*

6. The *Bangabandhu* [Calcutta] of the 1st June has the following :—

The Indian Police.

BANGABANDHU, June 1st, 1909. etc., etc.

The Indian Police are a repository of all the virtues and have made a name all over the world. People fear the police more than tigers and bears and more than even the devil himself. And why? Because in this country the police are greatly favoured by the officials, who are quite fond of them and give them every indulgence. In fact the police are, as it were, the spoilt children of the officials. The English rulers cannot carry on the work of administration for a single moment without their help, and hence the Government readily grant them whatever new powers and privileges they ask for. The powers of the police have thus been gradually increasing and one may almost be justified in saying that there is none to dispute their power. Excessive power in the hands of a person or community generally leads to an abuse of that power; and it is not strange that, wielding as they do such enormous power, they should abuse it. But the rulers of India cannot or perhaps they do not see what the dire consequences of all this will be. It is not only the Indian public or the Indian press alone which give the police a bad name and paint them in very dark

colours, but the English Government themselves are aware of the real nature of the Indian Police, and that is why a Police Commission was appointed. Many of our readers will remember the strictures passed on the police by Sir Andrew Fraser who presided over the Police Commission. But though as the President of the Police Commission Sir Andrew considered the police as worse even than poisonous serpents, he did not afterwards hesitate to declare himself as "the Policeman's Friend." As soon as Sir Andrew ascended the *masnad* of Bengal he evinced an inordinate fondness for unlimited power, and felt himself gratified in befriending the police inspite of their numerous misdeeds which he was well aware of. All this is ancient history, but it cannot be doubted that these circumstances have much to do with the present despotic character of the police.

It is well known to everybody that the police can resort to forgery and perjury on an elaborate scale for the purpose of harassing a person whom they may happen to consider as their enemy; that in many cases they rob women of their chastity and commit inhuman torture on inoffensive women for the purpose of extorting confessions; and that they often take bribes, harass people, arrest anybody they like, and abuse their despotic power in sundry other ways. There is nothing which these demons in human shape are not capable of. Strange as it may seem to many people in spite of what they know of the character of the police, some policemen have recently committed dacoity at a certain place in the United Provinces and then arrested and sent up a simple-minded zamindar and his men for this offence.

The people of India no doubt remember how at Rawalpindi the police committed great oppression on some highly respectable and quite inoffensive gentlemen by tying them in chains, keeping them in prison for a long time, and making them suffer the pangs of starvation and sleeplessness, to say nothing of the anxiety which wasted away their bodies. One of the victims of this cruel persecution, who was the brother of Lala Hansraj, succumbed to it after his release.

Then, when one recalls to mind the persecution which the police committed on many respectable persons at Midnapore including a Raja and several Zamindars, pleaders and mukhtears, though in this case they (the police) did not succeed in getting up enough evidence to serve their purpose,—when one thinks of the unbounded and despotic power which the police exercised on that occasion,—one's heart is filled with hatred and shame. The trying Judge had to acquit all the accused except three and yet the police made them rot in hell-like *hajut* for some months simply on the suspicion of their being bomb-manufacturers. An appeal has been preferred to the High Court by the three convicted accused, and we await the result. We wait also to see what comes of the enquiry which the Government are going to institute into the matter after the decision of the case by the High Court.

The Chief Justice of Travancore recently passed severe strictures upon the conduct of the police in connection with the Trivendrum riots, and ordered them to be put on their trial. If similar steps are taken against delinquent policemen all over British India, the police are ere long sure to cease committing inhuman oppression on inoffensive persons and becoming the destroyers instead of the protectors of the people. But to hope for such a thing is perhaps as idle as building a castle in the air.

The strong remarks passed by that able, intelligent, just and independent-minded Judge, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, regarding the concoction of evidence by the police in the Barrah dacoity case, ought to open the eyes of the authorities. It was only the other day that the Jessore police tortured one Hriday Nath Bose almost to death in order to extort a confession from him. News come from Sylhet and Dinajpore about an alleged murder, concocting false evidence, and forgery by the police. What can all this mean? Who is responsible for allowing the police to establish, what may be called, a police *raj* in this country? If the Government go on petting and pampering the police and believing them to be above all suspicion, no reform can possibly be made in the police. Unless the police are placed under the guidance and control of the public, the country is sure to be ruined. It can never bode any good either to the rulers or to the ruled if the arrogance of the police is not humbled and the unlimited and resistless power enjoyed by them is not checked to a

great extent. It is no good if the Chief Justice and the Judges of the High Court act with a view to the public good while the Provincial Governors care only for their own prestige and rely solely upon the police for its maintenance. In that case the present unrest in the land will go on increasing. We shall be very happy if our wise Viceroy and his lieutenants do not any more disgrace themselves by showing a fondness for the police, but put a stop to unjust oppression by the police.

After describing the various stages of the Midnapore Bomb case in scathing terms the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June concludes:—

No complaint against the doings of the police in this case can be exhaustive. Englishmen! You do not know the Indian policemen so much as their countrymen do. Hence you sometimes commit nasty blunders being duped by them. We know love of justice is the root principle of your rule. This has spread the brilliance of your good name all over the world, but you must always remember that the ignorant, uncultured, unintelligent and utterly devoid-of-foresight police of yours gives a rude shock to your sense of justice and impartiality. The Midnapore case is one instance of this, but it affords pleasure to see that it has awakened you since. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has ordered a Commission to be appointed to inquire into this case. Is the present Indian police worthy of being called the police of the British Government?

Adverting to the case of the young Madrasi suspect Sri Ram, who when lately produced before the District Magistrate of the 24-Parganas, asked the Magistrate to allow him to beg his way to Puri as he had been starving for some days past, the *Bangabandhu* [Calcutta] of the 1st June says :—

The Magistrate was deeply moved by the appeal, but told the man that he was powerless to do anything for him. Well, it is then perhaps the all-powerful police who alone can help the young man.

The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 5th June writes:—

There will be no end of travesty of justice unless the police be thoroughly reformed, which again is a most difficult thing to do. A dearth of able detective officers has all along been felt. One is lost in admiration to find the ability displayed by detective police officers in England, France and the United States. Again, those who are known as able detective officers in the Western countries are not dishonest. It is very difficult to find detective skill among the police officers of the Oriental countries. Very few among these officers in this country are possessed of intellect and good sense, whereas cunning, deceit and dishonesty may be found in abundance in the whole police force. In Europe and America higher education among the police officers is held in high esteem and those officers who show their ability are invariably versed in all the occidental languages. Again, unless one is versed in Philosophy and the material sciences, one cannot have a thorough knowledge of the world. Of course the difference between the police of India and the police of the Western countries in this respect is due to the difference of remuneration paid to them. Even ordinary constables in England and the Continent are paid more than Sub-Inspectors in India. Lieutenant-Governors like Sir Rivers Thompson were not reluctant to openly condemn offending police officers even in the Annual Administration Reports. The police had to be very careful during the administration of Sir Ashley Eden. The present departure from these principles are not at all commendable.

The reputation of the Indian police, says the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd June, is beyond description. One instance of this is furnished by the dying declaration of Hriday Nath Sen, who was virtually done to death by a police Sub-Inspector of Jessore, by rolling a bamboo over his chest for the purpose of extorting a confession from him about a theft. What is this virtual murder of a Daroga lording it over?

7. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 5th June says:— DAILY HITAVADI, June 5th, 1909,

Rumoured dismissal of some high police officials.

Rumour has it and we are also in possession of letters to the effect that Sir Edward Baker has dismissed Superintendent Ramsaday Mukherji and Deputy Superintendents Purna Chandra Lahiri and Benode Kumar Gupta of the Criminal Investigation Department. It is also reported that they are at

present in Madras on furlough, because the police authorities do not like that the news of their dismissal should reach the public.

NAYAK, June 8th, 1909, etc.

Crime in the 24-Parganas and the remedy.

8. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 8th June has no idea of any good resulting from the addition to the numerical strength of the police force which Mr. Warden has sanctioned in order to cope with the recent recrudescence of crime in the 24-Parganas. This will serve merely to add to the public burden. What is wanted is an improvement of the *morale* of the force, a thorough overhauling of the body. The police must cease to be petted and pampered by the officials, and must learn that they will not be permitted to fatten themselves on the public funds unless they do their duty by the public.

Bengal has become as it were the playground of the atrocities of the robbers, so says the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June. The Bashirhat Sub-division alone had in the short space of a few days 12 or 13 cases of robbery, the last of which was attended with murder too. The very idea sends a thrill of horror into the hearts of those who hear of it. The only protector of the unarmed people is the police which is however at present engaged in ferreting out cases of sedition. The result is that either the offenders are not arrested or the innocent persons who are sent up by it are acquitted. God knows when Government will take steps to save the country from this dire calamity.

BANGABANDHU, June 1st, 1909.

The Bogra Shooting case.

9. Referring to the recent shooting case at Bogra the *Bangabandhu* [Calcutta] of the 1st June is indignant to learn that the wicked and hardhearted European who killed the poor Marwari has not been arrested, though of course his "Nigger" servant has been. The paper asks if justice has ceased to exist in this country.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 2nd, 1909, etc.

Arrests in Eastern Bengal.

10. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June writes:—

While Sir Edward Baker is doing his best to establish peace in Western Bengal, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal is doing just the contrary. He has recently ordered the arrest of one Santicharan Mukerjee and another in connection with the stabbing case which took place two years ago. The two gentlemen have been in *hajut* since the 9th April, during the whole of which time they have been kept in solitary cells, and they are not allowed to see even their lawyers. Well done, Lieutenant-Governor Hare! You have managed to keep both the Bengals warm with excitement.

The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 1st June also refers to the same incident and remarks that it will take the police of Eastern Bengal a long time yet to come to their senses.

BANKURA DARPAN, June 1st, 1909,

A wolf-scare in certain villages in thana Khatra.

11. The *Bankura Darpan* [Bankura] of the 1st June notices that a wolf has been dwelling for some time in a cave of a small hill called Mahamayee Dungri, near the village of Supur, under the jurisdiction of thana Khatra to the great danger of the residents of the neighbouring villages.

HINDI BANGAVASI, June 7th, 1909.

Civil and Military Gazette on Urdu style of police documents, etc.

12. Referring to the comment of the *Civil and Military Gazette* on the Urdu language in use in police documents of the Punjab, in which a pure Urdu word is eliminated for a Persian substitute, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June is reminded of a similar state of things as regards the Bengali language used by the Bengal police in their official documents and that used in the Urdu, Bengali and Hindi Gazettes. The language of the police documents and that of the different Gazettes vie with each other in badness.

(b)—Working of the Courts.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 4th, 1909, etc.

The judgment in the Midnapore bomb case.

13. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 4th June writes:—

The Midnapore case—the unprecedented case of disaffection towards Government and attempt at revolution—is at an end. The bombs which had its inception in the brains of the police and the Magistrate, which came to

the sight of the people by the side of the window of Peary Ghose's *baitak-khana* has, under the influence of the Judge's powers of analysis, exploded at last. The tiny bubbles of sin have burst through the touch of the breeze of virtue. A subject race as we are, the tidings is a good message for us. Is not this news of the triumph of right over wrong also a gospel for the English nation, who have built up the lofty superstructure of their vast Indian empire on the strong basis of impartial justice? Unless virtue had been on their side, they could not accomplish this apparent impossibility—this government of 30 crores of men by 2 lakhs of Englishmen. Every Englishman ought to be glad to hear that virtue has again triumphed. The High Court and Sir Lawrence Jenkins, the spirited and fearless Judge, between them are acting as upholders of the British Empire in India. The Indian began to support British rule on the day on which he saw that in the eyes of the British Judge the high and the low were alike; that even a person of Warren Hastings's position was compelled to attend a court, that even the beast in human shape who had assassinated Lord Mayo was put on his trial before being punished. And British predominance in India will remain unimpaired so long as the British Courts continue dispensing equal justice.

It is undeniable that since the Partition a most bitter anti-English feeling has come to prevail amongst Bengalis leading to a desire on their part to boycott Englishmen as well as all English ways. It was the errors of Sir B. Fuller's and Sir Andrew Fraser's Governments which originally brought about this feeling, and the oppressions of the police intensified it. Neither Lord Morley's Reforms nor Lord Minto's or Sir Edward Baker's firmness and honesty would wholly eradicate this feeling. But what these statesmen could not effect has been effected by the godlike and fearless impartiality of Sir Lawrence Jenkins's judgments, and the old feeling of bitterness against Government is now slowly dying out.

After all, Bengalis with their life-long study of English literature and imitation of English ways cannot cherish anti-English feelings permanently. It is only when they are goaded by unprovoked oppression that a sense of vexation and offended love occasionally prompts in them an unreasonable desire to long for a change of yoke even with its attendant risk of fresh oppression.

The experience of the past and recent years ought to be a warning against posting to Bengal Civilian rulers of the type of Fraser and Fuller, whose barbarity, stupidity, arrogance, and senselessly mischievous nature it was that wrought a change in the spirit of the entire Civil Service,—a spirit which since Sir Edward Norman Baker's advent has ceased to manifest itself—that led to the outbreaks of police lawlessness at Jamalpur, Midnapore, Barisal—that led to the advent of the bomb. It cannot be asserted too often that if anybody deserves to be punished for the Midnapore case, it is Sir Andrew Fraser.

Continuing the paper writes that the *Englishman's* recent remarks on Sir Lawrence Jenkins's judgment show that it is raving mad. Government ought therefore to put it under restraint as a lunatic. The *Englishman* may spare its threats of further oppression being in store for us, for oppression is a thing we have been accustomed to for the past 700 years. Indians point out the errors of the Government in order that it may be permanent. When they begin to submit cheerfully to foul abuse by that journal, and to belaud everything it and its like may do, it will be an indication that they have begun to conspire against the British Raj. And to tell the truth if the rulers of the land were monkeys like the *Englishman*, things would soon come to that pass. As it is, highsouled Englishmen are still to be found.

The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 5th June has the following on the result of the appeal in the Midnapore Bomb case:—

The judgment in this case brings up before our mind the misfortune which befell certain educated and respectable men of Midnapore who suffered great persecution in *hajut*; it reminds us of the part played in the affair by the police, and of the way in which the case was tried by the Sessions Court at Midnapore; and lastly, it makes us almost shudder to think what the fates of the three appellants would have been if there were no such thing as the High Court.

The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June has an article on Sir Lawrence Jenkins whom it calls the Lion of Justice, which contains the following:—

The spirit of Jesus Christ has appeared in the Calcutta High Court once more after a great interval of time. His appointment has impressed the people that a sense of pure justice and duty still exists in British Judges If any thing can influence the minds of the Indians in the present fallen condition of their country, it is the appreciation of justice and duty. The show of power can frighten the cowards, but to infuse a sense of devotion and love is the province of justice and duty. Sir Lawrence Jenkins, ever since his joining the High Court, is infusing devotion into the minds of the people by the impartial administration of law, and thereby securing the foundation of the British Empire. The people therefore can not help blessing him. The brilliance of his judgment in the Barrah Dacoity case has been enhanced by his decision in the Midnapore Bomb case. Here the paper describes the various phases of the Midnapore Bomb case, and then concludes:—Victory be to Sir Lawrence Jenkins who by his keen sense of justice, has been able to make the British sense of justice run into every vein of the Indians. Victory be to Sir Jenkins who, by exposing the vagaries of the high officials of Government, has given them a warning to reform the administration and to establish the purity of the Court of Justice. Victory be to Sir Lawrence Jenkins who has been allowing the almost lifeless, trampled down Indians to taste of the sweet ambrosial fruit of Justice.

BHARAT MITRA, June 5th, 1909.

The Alipur Bomb case appeal.

14. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June says that it echoes public sentiment when it says that the special bench to be formed for hearing the appeal in the Alipur Bomb case should be presided over by Sir Lawrence Jenkins himself—the Lion of the Judiciary.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 5th, 1909,

Bail in the Dacca Janmasthami Stabbing case.

15. Referring to the release of the persons accused in the Janmasthami stabbing case at Dacca on bails of Rs. 500 each, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 5th June writes:—

What must that magic formula be at the utterance of which the accused persons, who were so long confined in solitary cells without even being allowed interviews with their legal advisers, were so suddenly bailed out without the least effort on their own part? The minds of the guilty have been shaken, because of the constant dread of the chastiser who now adorns the position of the Chief of the High Court, and who is ever ready to smite with his rod without the distinction of caste or colour, any one who does unjustice or harasses the innocent. Should it not be said that by the sacred influence of Sir Lawrence Jenkins the storm of oppression has been gradually disappearing?

BURDWAN SANJIVANI, June 1st, 1909,

An order prohibiting the display of Mr. Tilak's protrait.

16. The *Burdwan Sanjivani* [Burdwan] of the 1st June says that though Mr. Bal Gangadhur Tilak has been deported, yet he is always present in the hearts of the people of this country, specially those of Poona and that orders like that prohibiting the exposure of his pictures to public view passed by a Magistrate in Bombay, does not enhance the prestige but only evinces the weakness of Government.

BURDWAN SANJIVANI, June 1st, 1909.

Decision in the Peacock Stealing case against a Police officer of Tangail.

17. The *Burdwan Sanjivani* [Burdwan] of the 1st June asks the Government to directits attention to the decision as reported by a correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* arrived at by Babu Suresh Chandra Ghatak, Deputy Magistrate, acquitting the Sub-Inspector of Police of Tangail of a charge of theft of a peacock belonging to a local Mukhtear whose house was searched in December last, though a peacock which was found in possession of the said Sub-Inspector was declared by the trying Magistrate to belong to the Mukhtear.

MIHIR-O-UDSHAKAR, June 4th, 1909.

An Obscene Publication case.

18. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 4th June contrasts the sentence of a fine of Rs. 20 lately passed by Mr. Thornhill on a man for publishing an obscene book named *Kamratna* with the astounding sentence of a fine of Rs. 200 passed by Mr. Bompas on Munsur Mian for having published the *Hindu Dharma Rahasya*, and calls on Musalmans to subscribe and assist the latter in paying off his fine.

19. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June criticises the sentence passed on Surgeant Sephton for murdering a Madrassi by the Sessions Judge of Bangalore, Mr. Hamright (?) who admitted the gravity of the offence and considered the accused deserving of a severe sentence but gave him only six months, and a fine of Rs. 5.

BHARAT MITRA, June 5th, 1909.

Light punishment for murder.

20. Will not, asks the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June, Mr. Forrester, the Sessions Judge of Midnapore, take a lesson from the judgment in appeal of Justices Caspersz and Ryves acquitting Surendra Nath and Bunkim Bihari, whom he had sentenced to capital punishment.

HINDI BANGAVASI, June 7th, 1909.

Death sentences quashed.

(c)—*Jails.*

21. Referring to the hardships the under-trial prisoners in the Alipore Bomb case were subjected to, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd June, observes :—

HITVARTA, June 3rd, 1909, etc.

Under-trial prisoners in the Alipore Bomb case.

There is no one to punish the Superintendent, the master of the hellish jail, for his illegal acts. The result is that loyalty is disappearing from the people.

The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June says, that the Chief Justice of the Bengal High Court was surprised to learn, in course of his hearing the appeal in the Alipore Bomb case, that the under-trial prisoners were kept in solitary cells, and observes that the Hon'ble Justice would have been still more surprised if he had heard of the various other ways in which these prisoners were treated by the jail authorities. In fact, the only difference observed in the case of the under-trial prisoners from the convicted prisoners is that the former are not given any task to perform. Every one from a Raja to a beggar is treated in the same way. The advent of Sir Lawrence Jenkins as Chief Justice is God-sent to this unfortunate country. But, after all, he is but a Judicial officer, and so long as a similar sense of justice does not rule the actions of the executive authorities, criticisim of the kind can have no influence on the destiny of the Indians.

22. Referring to an American lady's efforts to improve the horrible condition of prisoners in America, the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June, exclaims: "When are the horrors of Indian Jails going to be removed?"

HINDI BANGAVASI, June 7th, 1909.

Horrors of Indian Jails.

(d)—*Education.*

23. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June, says that the large number of free studentships, which the Government of Bengal has endowed in the Sanskrit College, will surely earn it the gratitude of the entire Hindu population of the province.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 2nd, 1909.

Government endowments in the Sanskrit College.

24. Referring to the award by the Government of India of three scholarships for the scientific study of Sanskrit in England and one for that of Arabic, the *Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika* [Calcutta] of the 3rd June says that more help would have been rendered to the culture of Sanskrit if only half the amount of the scholarships were spent over the Sanskrit *tols* in this country.

SRI SRI VISHNU PRIYA-O-ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA, June 3rd, 1909, etc.

Government scholarship tenable in England for Sanskrit and Arabic culture.

The *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 5th June also remarks: "Is there such a lack of Sanskrit and Arabic scholars in this country that it should be necessary to award scholarships tenable in England for the study of those two languages?"

25. As this year's Entrance Examination is the last of its kind according to the old regulations and as candidates who have failed in it have almost no chance of succeeding in the next Matriculation Examination under the new Regulations, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June suggests that a supplementary examination should be held.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 7th, 1909.

A supplementary Entrance Examination.

BHARAT MITRA, June 5th, 1909.

Indian Institute out of Tata bequeath.

26. Referring to the opening of the Indian Research Institute which is now under the contemplation of Government, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June says, that not associating the name of Tata with the Institute, which his munificence made it possible to be founded, will strike every one as strange.

(e)—Local Self-Government and Municipal Administration.

BANGABANDHU, June 1st, 1909, etc.

Septic tanks.

27. The *Bangabandhu* [Calcutta] of the 1st June thinks that the pollution of the water of the Hooghly by effluence from septic tanks is largely responsible for the insanitary condition of Calcutta and of the villages lying on either side of the river. And what gives the paper a more serious cause for complaint is that the water of the Hooghly being used by Hindus for religious purposes its defilement directly hurts their religious feelings. The futility of repeated agitation on the subject has caused much disappointment.

The *Matribhumi* [Chandernagore] of the 3rd June also condemns the pollution of the sacred water of the Hooghly, and asks His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to put a stop to it.

(f)—Question affecting the land.

NIHAR, June 1st, 1909.

Irregularities in the Courts dealing with Settlement cases in Contai, Midnapore.

28. The *Nihar* [Contai] of the 1st June writes :—

One of the local chaukdars, Babu Prasanna Kumar Ghosh, had sent telegrams to the Board of Revenue and the Director of Land Records to the effect that draft publication under section 104E. had not been properly made and that the owners of lands had not been allowed an opportunity to look at the records within one month of publication. It is now intended to show how Prasanna Babu is suffering for disturbing as it were a hornets' nest.

Prasanna Babu had filed objections in three cases against the decision of the Survey officers and his cases were fixed for the 14th March. The Settlement Court is a most incommodious one, and yet Babu Prasanna Kumar waited there till 2 P.M., when on being assured by the Peshkar that his cases would not be taken up for at least an hour, he left the Court on some urgent business. Just then two of his cases were called up and struck off owing to his absence. The third case was taken up long after his re-arrival in Court, and the presiding officer being unable to reject it on the former ground searched for a new one and having learnt from the Peshkar that his objection was received on the 8th March while the draft publication was made on the 8th February, dismissed it as having been barred by limitation. Prasanna Babu tried his utmost to convince the officer that his application had been filed in time, as under the rules the period of one month allowed for filing objections is counted from the day following the draft publication, and the draft publication in this case was made on the 8th February, but to no purpose, and the reply given was: "I hold that the appeal is barred by limitation. You may appeal against my decision." But under the existing law there is no appeal from a decision in a case under section 103A. We request the higher authorities to enquire whether any other raiyat in mauza Athilagari also filed his objection on the 8th March, and if so, whether he also met with a similar fate at the hands of the aforesaid officer.

HITVARTA, June 3rd, 1909.

Settlement operations in Ranchi.

29. A correspondent of the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd June referring to the settlement operations in Ranchi points out the mischievous litigations fomented by the Settlement Amins and other officers to the total ruin of the ignorant natives of Chota Nagpur, and quotes the case of an Amin and Peshkar who have been recently sentenced to six months' imprisonment for taking bribes from both parties who were set against each other. He says that the Settlement Officers connive at these things, and requests Sir Edward Baker to stop the Settlement

of Hazaribagh, which is to commence next year, for it would save trouble to thousands of cultivators.

MARWARI, June 4th, 1909.

30. Seeing that half the area of cultivated land is going to lie fallow for want of seed in Bihar, the *Marwari* [Calcutta] of the 4th June hopes that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will kindly se that the poor raiyats are supplied the necessary seed.

Dearth of seed in Bihar.

(g)—*Railways and Communiacations, includiag Canals and Irrigation.*

DAILY HITAVADI, June 7th, 1909.

31. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June writes :—

Third class railway passengers.

The Railway is now the only means of conveyance in India for people going to distant places, and the Government, who practically have the monopoly of Railway control, get a large revenue from it. It is third class passengers who contribute by far the largest amount to the railway revenue, and yet it is to the comforts and conveniences of these luckless people that an almost criminal indifference is noticeable in all Railway officials. Composed as they are mostly of poor and illiterate men, third class passengers quietly submit to any tyranny and oppression which the lordlings of the railway may commit upon them; and in fact, from the way in which such passengers are treated, it seems as if they are allowed to travel by rail simply as an act of the greatest concession. In both the large railway stations in Calcutta, third class passengers are treated in a way which would have led to bloodshed in any country excepting India. What with the hustling and jostling he receives while buying his ticket at the window of the booking office, and the occasional raps from the policeman's baton while that keeper of the peace is trying to keep back the struggling crowd, or, as is not unfrequently the case, to make room for the more fortunate among them who has had the good sense to propitiate him by means too well known to need mentioning, the third class passenger finds himself in a most unenviable situation soon after he enters the railway station. Then after he has somehow managed to get a ticket, he has to pass through a half-open door or a narrow, tortuous passage which is guarded by the ticket examiner, who is seldom remarkable for suavity of manners excepting towards first and second class passengers, more especially if such passengers happen to be of the "hat-and-coated orders". Next there is the rush for the cars, for third class passengers are never allowed to get into the platform until a short time before the train starts, and in their eager attempts to board the train before it steams out, they some times get severely hurt or lose all their money. Anybody who has been on the platform of the Howrah railway station at the time of the departure of the evening Express train, must have witnessed the way in which third class passengers are packed in the cars like so many sardines. Over and above all this there are the kicks and blows which such passengers often receive from arrogant *Feringhi* Railway officials, and if any complaint is made to the Station Superintendent, that officer either turns a deaf ear to it, and gives an insolent reply, while if any passenger has the foolhardiness to protest against such treatment he is handed over to the police.

In consideration of all these circumstances, we have resolved to start a fund to enable aggrieved railway passengers to take their grievances to court, and certain Pleaders and Barristers are willing to help us in this project. If a few railway officials are punished, oppression of third class passengers will become a thing of the past. If the Railway Board take up the matter, well and good. But whether they do so or not, we are prepared to help oppressed passengers by every means in our power, and some rich gentlemen have promised us their co-operation.

BIRBHUM HITAISI, May 21st, 1909.

32. The *Birbhum Ḥitaishi* [Birbhum] of the 21st May calls the attention of the authorities to the oppression committed by the Babus at the Sainthia Railway Station on passengers who come with their wives and children and who are forced to wait at the station at night.

Allegations against Railway employees at Sainthia.

(h)—*General.*

SAMAJ DARPAN, June 2nd, 1909.

33. The *Samaj Darpan* [Salkea] of the 2nd June has the following :—

The Government and the people.

The Government have enhanced taxes and and placed on the shoulders of the people of India the burden of a debt of some three-and-a-half crores for the purpose of maintaining Civilians, and for affording English merchants facilities for carrying on their commerce. The people are suffering the agonies of starvation, but the processes of ruling them and draining their country of all its wealth go on without a stop all for the sake of enriching the rulers' countrymen. So long as the Indian submits to all this in silence, the Government are pleased with him; but as soon as he does anything to the contrary, the Government turn against him. The Indian must pretend to have had a full meal, although he is starving; he must acknowledge the police as his sovereign lord; he must consider the furtherance of Western interests as a boon, although that may mean ruin to his country; and he must pocket every insult and injury which he may receive. Twenty-five times within the period of a century has India been visited by famines, and more than three crores of people have died of starvation, and yet the Indian must say that he is very happy. He is not to cry aloud even though his agonies may be great, and, if he does so, there are the police, the Magistrate, and the jail for him. Police oppression has brought about quite an anarchical condition in the country, and yet the representative of the Sovereign has an unbounded affection for the police, and thinks that whatever they do is always right. The Advocate-General withdraws the prosecution in a case in which the authorities place implicit faith in the police. The Chief Justice of the High Court passes severe strictures on the conduct of the police. The police are punished at Trivandrum. Whichever way one may look, one sees nothing but a dismal scene like that of a cremation ground. Is there no remedy for all this? No, for then the prestige of the Government will be lost. And these are the methods by which the English rulers want to keep the people satisfied. However, we have now been able to see that it is highly selfish and Indian-hating Englishmen who are the enemies of England, and it is the police whom the Government know to be their friends who are their greatest enemies. These things are gradually deepening the distrust and ill-feeling that have come to exist between the rulers of India and the people; and the consequences can never be good for either. We implore the Government to reform the police, to separate the judiciary and the executive, to place less faith in selfish merchants and civilians, and rule the people with an eye to their welfare. Let the interests of the rulers and the ruled be both protected as far as possible, or else evil is bound to befall both. Repression may frighten people into submission outwardly, but they go on nursing a feeling of revenge. It is not coercion and *zubberdust* but a dignified and yet conciliatory policy which conquers for the rulers the hearts of the people and cements friendly relations between them.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 2nd, 1909.

34. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June writes :—

The duties of officials.

Times without number have the judiciary in this country severely criticised the conduct of the police and condemned their misdeeds. But how often have the authorities punished police-officers on the strength of the views expressed by the judiciary? The Government perhaps think that if a Police officer or any official is punished for failure of duty, the official community will lose its prestige. There is no king in India, and it is the officials who really rule the country. If, therefore, the people find that the officials do not properly discharge their duties, they lose all faith in and respect for their rulers, and by and by a feeling of hatred towards their rulers comes to possess their minds. The disloyalty which the Anglo-Indian community imagines to exist in India is quite a different thing altogether, and is as yet an impossibility in this country, though, of course, if the officials persistently go on neglecting their duties, it may perhaps come to exist in the future. And if such a thing does at all take place, the people will not surely be responsible for it. What we have in India now is a feeling of discontent, and this will never be a thing of the past unless and until the officials are mindful of their duties towards the people and thus conquer their hearts.

35. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June has an article headed "Rotten to the core" from which the following extracts are taken :— BHARAT MITRA, June 5th, 1909.

Government and the Midnapur case.

They say that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Edward Baker, is very much agitated over the Midnapur incidents, and this is not to be wondered at. All the residents of a whole district were implicated in a nasty case for which there was no foundation, and it is suspected that a number of the subordinate officials had been at work to bring about the disgrace of Government. Where is the official who would not consider it proper to find out the real offenders and give them adequate punishment?

The Midnapur affair is only a secondary symptom of a grave disease. These symptoms appearing now and then in one or the other Province indicate a lamentable condition of the English Administration. Of all the discreditable acts of Government, the partition of Bengal is the most lamentable. It has proved a shipwreck to Lord Morley's life-long reputation. Mr. Frederick Harrison, M.P., openly declared that Lord Morley abandoned a policy of which he has been blowing the trumpet from the very beginning of his career. The people may form an idea of the seriousness of a disease, the secondary symptoms of which can destroy the reputation of a philosopher like Lord Morley.

The Lieutenant-Governor may be able to find out the real culprits in the Midnapur case and punish them. Where is the remedy of that which has, by creating the unnecessary evil, turned the Bengalis into anarchists and seditionists, and where is the remedy, if Lord Morley, who has eyes large enough to see all, intelligence to understand all, and extraordinary judgment to cure all the evils, refuses to cut off the root of the present irritation and discontent?

A popular Lieutenant-Governor like Sir Edward Baker can remedy the mischief committed by his subordinate officers, but when one finds Governors like Sir Andrew Fraser encouraging those evils, who can correct them?

The Midnapur Bomb case.

36. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June writes :— DAILY HITAVADI, June 2nd, 1909, etc.

Sir Andrew Fraser used to say that while he would do everything in his power to preserve the peace and to punish the wicked, he would not act in a vindictive spirit towards those who in their folly had broken the law. But in spite of all the nice things that he said, it was during his administration that under-trial prisoners suffered unspeakable hardships in *hajut*. Babu Aravinda Ghose and others, whom the police cunningly tried to net into the meshes of the law, used to be hand-cuffed and tied in chains when they were taken from the Jail to Court. Any amount of persecution was committed on the Raja of Narajole, Devadas Karan, and several others, who were made accused in the Midnapur Bomb Case. Can anybody tell us why respectable men like these were subjected to all sorts of hardships and insults by the police, who are not fit even to clean their boots? Does all this give evidence of the impartial nature of Sir Andrew Fraser's administration? We may abuse the police and lay as much blame on them as we like, but it is quite certain that they would not have dared illtreat respectable gentlemen, unless they had received a private hint to that effect. The Midnapur case had its origin in the story fabricated by the police, which was accepted in its entirety by Mr. Weston, who retailed it to the Chief Secretary and the head of the Criminal Investigation Department. Between them three they managed to give the affair dimensions and colours which threw Sir Andrew Fraser off his mental equipoise, and he forthwith gave orders for the arrest of the Raja of Narajole and several others without even waiting to consult the Advocate-General. The way in which the Explosives Act has been applied in the Midnapur case shows that, contrary to the sanguine expectations of Sir Harvey Adamson, clause VII of the Act has been a cause of the persecution of innocent persons. We hope, therefore, that the Chief Justice of Bengal will express an opinion on the matter.

In connection with the situation which has arisen in regard to the Midnapur Bomb case after the recent judgment of the High Court, the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 3rd June writes :—

We have been made to realise full well how much mischief can be done to the country as the result of the weakness of a Governor. The sins which

Sir A. Fraser committed in regard to this case are unpardonable in the eyes of God. His faults have brought the whole administrative machinery into disrepute and spoiled the happiness of an entire people. It is a great mistake to imagine that a country can be governed merely by brute force, regardless of morals. A small act of injustice can result in a terrible revolution on earth. It takes ten Bentincks, Cannings or Ripons to undo the mischief wrought by a single Curzon, Fuller or Fraser. And further, a sore in the body politic, like one in the physical body, should not be allowed to grow, but should be mercilessly knifed regardless of shame, fear, reproach or anguish.

The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June writes:—

Who is actually responsible for the endeavours to prove so many innocent people guilty of a most grave offence and to have them convicted? It is needless to dwell on the faults and responsibility of the police in the matter which must be clear even to a child. But was the dangerous case instituted only on the responsibility of the police and on that of the local officials of Midnapur, or was not Sir Andrew Fraser, the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal also responsible for it? It is now to be hoped that our present impartial and just Lieutenant-Governor will institute a sifting inquiry into the matter and dispel all fear and doubt from the minds of the people by punishing the real offenders. No officer ought in future to identify himself with any shameful act like this, and no innocent and loyal subject ought to be harassed and oppressed in this fashion without any cause.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 7th, 1909, etc.

Enquiry into the Midnapur Bomb case.

37. A humorist writes thus to the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June:—

The *Englishman* thinks that, if the High Court exposes the shortcomings of the police, *ergo* of the Government, the public will come to learn that the Government has many defects. But does not the paper know that the public have had ample cause to draw their own conclusions? Take, for instance, the affair at Midnapur. Everybody knows that it is the labours of Weston, Moulvi and Company which converted a petty mole hill into a mighty mountain. And if the Government has lost its prestige the judgment of the High Court in the Midnapur case is not responsible for that. The public are now well aware of the existence of a heap of dirty linen in the cupboard of the Government, and unless the linen be washed in the highway, how will the people learn that the dirt has all been cleared out?

Referring to the proposed inquiry into the Midnapur case, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 6th June writes:—

It was at first rumoured that Sir Edward Baker would appoint a Commission to enquire into the Midnapore case to find out the whole truth, and that either His Honour himself together with Mr. Justice Fletcher, would sit on the commission or depute some equally eminent officials to take their place. But it has now transpired that Mr. D. Macpherson, the Commissioner of the Burdwan Division, will alone hold the enquiry and that Mr. Weston himself will help him. So, there has been "much cry but little wool." It appears that Sir Edward Baker is only bent upon exonerating from blame the members of the Civil Service who have been put to shame by the clamorous agitation over the Midnapur case, and more so by the judgment of the High Court.

Writing in a similar spirit, the *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 5th June says that a better result may be expected to follow if a mixed commission consisting of some non-official respectable gentlemen and Government officials be formed.

DAINIK CHANDRIKA, June 4th, 1909.

The *Englishman* and the Midnapur Bomb Appeal case.

38. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 4th June calls on the High Court and the Government to take sharp notice of the recent writings of the *Englishman* on the result of the Midnapur Bomb case appeals—writings which are in its opinion calculated to create ill-feeling between the rulers and the ruled, quite as much as the speeches of the Extremists.

HOWRAH HITAISHI, June 5th, 1909.

Surrender of a revolver at Sibpur.

39. Referring to the surrender of a revolver by one Lalbehary Mukerjee of Srihari Napara, Sibpur, in spite of his having a license to hold it, to the Sibpur Thana, the *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 5th June says, that perhaps

this act was prompted by the consideration how in these days people are harassed with or without cause under the provisions of the Arms Act.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 2nd, 1909.

Mokshada Charan Samadhyayi.

40. Now that the Government are going to give up the policy of repression which they have been following for the last three years, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June asks the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to withdraw the case now pending against Pandit Mokshada Charan Samadhyayi just as they have kindly dropped the prosecution of the accused in the "Desacharyya" Sedition case.

BANGABANDHU, June 1st, 1909.

The degradation of Mr. Carshasp.

41. The *Bangabandhu* [Calcutta] of the 1st June is greatly grieved at the degradation of Mr. Carshasp in connection with the Guntur riots, a punishment which the paper thinks was wholly unmerited. The paper insinuates that the light sentence of six months' simple imprisonment which Mr. Carshasp passed on Hari Sarvotham Rao in the *Swaraj* Sedition case might have something to do with the heavy punishment now passed on him by the Madras Government.

HINDI BANGAVASI, June 7th, 1909.

New rules for arms possessed by Indian soldiers.

42. The *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June notices the rule issued by the Military Department restricting the keeping of arms by the Reserved and other Indian soldiers, and remarks that the arms of the soldiers also have attracted the attention of the Government now.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 7th, 1909, etc., etc.

The Partition.

43. Referring to Sir Henry Cotton's letter on the Indian unrest which appeared in the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June writes:—

Though a friend of India, Sir Henry Cotton loves his own country more than anything else, and that is why he has been so outspoken in his condemnation of the partition. Lord Minto, Lord Morley and, in fact, all right-thinking English statesmen hold the same views as Sir Henry, but it is the fear of losing their prestige which seals their month. It is the arrogance of Civilians and the evil counsel of Anglo-Indian journals like the rag of Hare Street which stand in the way of the undoing of the Partition.

Referring to the statement of the *Englishman* that the partition has done no harm to any party, and that the Hindus have started, out of selfish motives, the agitation against the measure simply because they wish to retain their superiority by keeping the Muhammadans under subjection, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 5th June writes:—

The Muhammadan community will no longer remain in a backward condition, and it is doubtful whether it will rub its body against the feet of Englishmen like a pet cat for a piece of bread. As a result of English education the Musalmans will surely be inspired with a national feeling on the same lines as ours. They will be so inspired the more because the memory of past glory is more vividly present in their mind than in ours. They cannot forget that only a century and-a-half ago they were the rulers of India, shaping the destinies of two and-a-half crores of human beings, exactly as Englishmen now do. They cannot forget that the victorious flag of Islam marked with the crescent fluttered over the vast territory, stretching from the Atlantic coasts of Spain and France to the coast lines of China washed by the Pacific Ocean, and they cannot forget that they were the pioneers of science and learning in Europe, and taught its people Chemistry and Medicine. The scions of such people are now lying in the dust. As a result of English education the Musalmans are sure to recall all these facts, and all endeavours in the direction of creating differences between them and the Hindus will be fruitless when they will be inspired with such a feeling, which will have the effect of uniting the Hindus and Musalmans who will then shake hands as brothers and there is no power in the world strong enough to prevent this. However much the *Englishman* may quarrel with us like a fish woman and however hard he may try to prove us to be the enemies of Government, what will happen in the near feature we are able to see with the eyes of a seer, considering which we can forgive the *Englishman* for its calling us bad names. We have to reply to the *Englishman* only because it is patronised by the authorities, who listen to its advice on many occasions. The *Englishman* says that the Bengali agitators can never be satisfied ; and as they always try to

weaken the Government, they should not be allowed to gojon with their partition agitation and their boycott propagandism; but it may be said in reply that so long as the partition is not reversed lawful agitation against it will not cease, and it is needless to say anything more on the subject of boycott than this, that if *swadeshi* goes on, there will be boycott also, because one who will advocate *swadeshi* must boycott foreign goods.

The *Khulnavasi* [Khulna] of the 29th May writes:—

At the time of partitioning Bengal, Lord Curzon held out hopes to the people of Eastern Bengal that the educated community of Dacca and other places would thenceforth get the rights of the citizens of Calcutta. The people of Eastern Bengal have been having it driven home to them how their condition has improved after the partition. How the condition of the finances of the new province has improved was dwelt on at great length by the officials themselves at the time of the Budget discussion. Any prospect of hapiness in a country in which the expenditure is greater than the income, must be far indeed. It is only building castles in the air to expect happiness where the Government has either to incur debts or to impose new taxes on the people to meet its expenditure; where even the educational officers have to act as spies and the students are charged with offences; where the number of law suits goes on increasing at a tremendous rate from year to year; and where the good people are always afraid lest the police should swoop down upon them all on a sudden and search their houses. All these facts are surely known to the officials, though they may deny such knowledge.

Under these circumstances we entreat the Secretary of State for India to feel compassion for the 8 crores of the King's Bengali subjects and either to annu the Partition of Bengal altogether or to lessen its mischiefs. Unless the partition be revoked, his new schemes of reform will be fruitless.

The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June thinks that Lord Morley's object in dividing the Civil Service Cadre for the two provinces of Bengal and Eastern Bengal and Assam is to strengthen the Partition, but as the Government are free to do whatever they like, the paper thinks it useless to say anything.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR, une 4th, 1909.

Moslem Representation on the new Councils.

44. In discussing the question of Musalman representation on the enlarged Councils, the *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 4th June quotes the following passages from a Government of India Despatch and a speech by Viscount Morley, respectively:—

> "Where a regular Muhammedan electorate was feasible, that method should be adopted;"
>
> "The Muhammadans," said Lord Morley in the House of Lords a couple of months ago, "demand the election of their own representatives to those Councils in all the stages, just as in Cyprus, where, I think, the Muhammadans vote by themselves. Therefore, we are not without a parallel for the idea of a separate register. Secondly, they want a number of seats in excess of their numerical strength. These two demands we are quite ready and intend to meet in full."

and remarks that from these passages Musalmans were led to believe that Government approved of the policy of separate registers for Musalmans. As it is, however, the latest utterances of Viscount Morley, Mr. Hobhouse, and others compel the inference that Musalmans are no gainers by the Reforms Scheme. What Lord Minto has conceded he has conceded finally; he will not go any further. That is to say, separate electorates will not be created in Provinces where Musalmans are numerically small. The Musalman representatives in these cases will be returned by combined electorates. Where, however, Musalmans are strong in numbers, separate electorates will be permitted, but in these cases, the number of Musalmans seats reserved is very small. It is difficult to say what will be the number of Musalman representation on the Viceroy's Council under the scheme now adopted, and it is equally uncertain how many of these representavives will be returned by separate, and how many

by common electorates. As a matter of fact, Musalman members returned by common electorates will be Hinduised men with pro-Congress views. Government will none the less look on them as representative Musalmans. The effects of this will ere long be felt both by Government and by the Musalman community. The Hindus have triumphed, and the Congress has scored. It is most reprehensible that a man of Lord Morley's personality and political status should have broken his pledges to Musalmans in regard to this Reform Scheme. But then in politics pledges mean nothing. If all the European powers can unhesitatingly condone a violation of the pledges of the Berlin Treaty as they affect Turkey, why should it be held blameworthy to violate pledges made to an insignificant community like the Musalmans of India? Musalmans themselves do not know what it is to break a pledge, but they cannot look for a similar spirit in European politicians, with their so-called civilisation and progress. God alone knows what the future of Musalmans and of the country generally will be under the reforms scheme. Musalmans have simply wasted breath by talking of their loyalty, for in practical political life there is no recompense or reward for loyalty.

Continuing, the paper writes that Raja Sir Ali Muhammad Khan of Mahmudabad, in the memorial he has lately submitted to the Viceroy regarding the Reforms, has spoken for his entire cummunity. The few who differ from him are men of no status. The Lucknow meeting has proved that all Musalmans are at one in demanding separate representation.

The same paper also writes:—

The recent Municipal elections at Delhi prove that, in mixed elections, Musalmans do not make much headway. Of the 10 elected members lately returned, 6 proved to be Musalmans and 4 Hindus. But of the 7 members nominated by Government, 6 turned out to be Hindus and 1 Musalman. We do not understand the motive of Government in the present case. Does Sir L. Dane support this action?

An Executive Council for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

45. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 4th June will be glad to see "Max's" prophecy come true that Sir Edward Baker will be the last Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and that His Honour's successor will be a Governor imported from England. While not objecting occasionally to able Civilians like Sir Edward Baker, Sir J. Hewett, or Sir R. Temple being heads of Provincial Governments, the paper cannot but recognise the general disadvantage which Civilian Lieutenant-Governors labour under because of the narrowing influences of their training in the early days of their service. Civilians indeed lack the wideness of out-look on affairs which the Governors of Bombay and Madras have been usually found to possess.

DAINIK CHANDRIKA, June 4th, 1909.

Sir Edward Baker may act in co-operation with an Executive Council, but most probably it will not be possible for a Civilian successor to his *guddi* to do so. This will lead to the appointment of a Governor direct from Home.

Continuing, the paper expresses a hope that if the new Bengal Executive Council is to have a Law Member, that Member should be a Vakil or a Sub-Judge. But this Membership need not be the only one to be given to an Indian for, in a Provincial Council, all the portfolios might be safely entrusted to Indians, particularly those of Finance and Public Works. In any case, it should be an indispensable condition of the creation of an Executive Council for Bengal that one of its Members should be a Bengali. For after all, it is the extension of the political rights of the Indians which is the basic idea of the Reforms.

The Government and the Press in India.

46. In reproducing Lord Lansdowne's recent address at a meeting of the "Press Fund" appreciative of the function of newspapers in the public life of a country, the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 1st June writes that Indian newspapers also discharge a similarly useful function which all but professed despots will recognise. But unfortunately in very many cases, if they give out their views freely, they are held to be guilty of sedition. Indeed during the last two years about 50 editors have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment which total to a period of 150 years in all. Thus

NAYAK, June 1st, 1909, etc.

an attempt is being made here to nip the influence of the press in the bud. In no civilised country is freedom of the press suppressed with such a stern hand. This is a remark which can be made consistently with a full recognition of the Indians' disabilities as a subject race.

The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 8th June writes that Lord Curzon added to the dignity of the Indian press by inviting its representatives to the Delhi Durbar, but the very same Lord Curzon did not shrink from ignoring press opinion when partitioning Bengal. The influence of the press declines if the officials ignore its views. And it is to bring about such a decline in the influence of the Indian papers probably that officials now-a-days treat their opinion with disdain.

DAINIK CHANDRIKA, June 5th, 1909.

Apathy of the Indian Government to the abolition of death sentences.

47. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 5th June says that the expediency of death sentences is being questioned everywhere, and the dislike of the people for that form of punishment is going on increasing in intensity. Such is the case even in other British dominions, but the reverse is the case in India. Here the Government looks with apathy on death sentences passed on innocent people, for it cannot be believed that the Government does not know that many innocent persons have been condemned to death in this country, in spite of the safeguard provided in the shape of the necessity of the confirmation of such sentences by the High Court.

DAILY HITAVADI, June 2nd, 1909.

Famine relief in Bihar.

48. Referring to the rumour that nearly half the cultivable area of Bihar will remain uncultivated this year because of the scarcity of food having compelled the peasants to eat up all their stock of grains, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June says that if this extraordinary report be true, it is indeed a great shame for the Government. The paper invites the Lieutenant-Governor's attention to the matter and asks His Honour to enquire into the way in which famine relief operations are conducted in Bihar.

BHARAT MIHIR, June 5th, 1909.

Government and food-stuffs.

49. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June is glad that the rise in the price of food-grains is engaging the attention of Lord Morley who is corresponding with the Indian Government on the subject, and points out that among others the policy of free trade is one of the causes of the present high prices.

V.—PROSPECTS OF THE CROPS AND CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

SAMAY, June 4th, 1909.

Scarcity of food in Malda.

50. A correspondent of the *Samay* [Calcutta] of the 4th June says that the scourge of famine is still raging in the Malda district. The price of food grains is going up day by day. All food stuffs are very dear save milk. Fish is very rare. Poor people are living on the roots of wild arums and the leaves of jute plants.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

ALPANCH, May 28th, 1909.

The Suffragist disturbances in England.

51. The *Alpanch* [Bankipur] of the 28th May quotes the *Statesman* on the disturbances created by the Lady Suffragists in the Legislative Assembly of (?) and exclaims :—"These are the doings of our civilised and learned ladies."

ALPANCH, May 28th, 1909.

Poems on female education.

52. The *Alpanch* [Bankipur] of the 28th May contains three metrical contributions drawing a distorted picture of the dangers likely to arise from the spread of female education (among the Muhammadans). All the three poems converge to the conclusion that the new system of imparting instruction to women is opposed to the *pardah* system prevailing among them, as educated women would have a natural predilection for the refined mode of living obtaining among European ladies. The idea of liberty would gain the citadel of their heart; they would become untractable and inspired with a zeal to free themseves from the thraldom of men, resulting in the kindling of interminable fire of domestic dissensions.

53. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 4th June writes:— DAILY HITAVADI, June 4th, 1909.

The significance of the unrest.

What do the various forms of unrest and excitement now visible in different parts of India among the many classes of her people indicate? What is the explanation of the birth of Brahmin Sobhas, Suddhi (purification) movements, Kayestha Sobhas, Mahila Parishads (Ladies Associations), Dharma Mandalis (Religious Association) Samaj Mandalis (Social Associations), Siksha Parishads (Educational Socities)? Why again do Musalmans bestir themselves about the establishment of Anjumans and "Leagues" and the promotion of female education? Why are the Jains eager about the formation of Jatia Mandals (National Associations) and Narisamajes (Woman's Societies) and the Sikhs about Patriotic Majlises (Societies)? This is a problem which it does not strike us to ponder over, though we are quite ready to pronounce emphatic opinions on the latest situation in Turkey and Persia.

The population of India, in spite of innumerable diversities of race, religion and language, is governed by the same people and the same laws, has the same common official language, a common system of education, and a common subjection with its attendant common grievances. Then also there are the Railways. All these are influences which have worked to infuse into all classes of the people common sympathies and to call forth among the English educated section of the community a proud consciousness of nationality based on a recognition of India's great past and a longing to revive that past greatness in the present and in the future. It is this longing and desire which is at the bottom of all the prevailing unrest and agitation. All the various Sabhas, Samities, Parishads, Leagues, etc., might thus be compared to infants lying on different cots awaking from sleep and calling out for their Mother. We do not know how the Mother of the universe will listen to the cry of these infants, and how She will take these up into Her arms.

The present awakening thus marks a reaction from the old tendency among English educated Indians of decrying everything native and belauding everything European. That spirit has departed now, and it has been given to us now to recognise our real duties to our country. So long as this recognition operates, some of us may, in the early days of our search for our goal, lose our way, but all our activities are ultimately bound to converge to the common focus. A day will surely come, and not a very distant day either when Musalmans, in spite of their present attitude of perpetuating differences, will learn to look on the Hindus as their brothren. They will learn that lesson when circumstances will force the recognition on them that the Indians have no resource but self-help. And the circumstances which will force this recognition will be not only the measures of government, the influence of education, and of common oppression, but most of all, the sense of void which has now come to fill our breasts.

54. In reference to the opinion lately expressed by the *Englishman* that Mr. Sinha's appointment, on the ground on which Sir Andrew Fraser has sought to justify it in the *Empire Review*, would justify the appointment of Indians to all the highest offices, including the Viceroyalty, the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 8th June remarks: "Supposing this does happen, and Indians come to be the Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governors, what would be there in it to object to? If the Indian is found competent to administer his own country, why should not he administer it? The *Englishman* may yet live to see the day on which Indians will be discharging all the functions of the government of their native land. NAYAK, June 8th, 1909.

The *Englishman* and Indians in the public service.

55. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] on the 5th June writes:— DAILY HITAVADI, June 5th, 1909.

Intimacy between Englishmen and Indians.

It is often said by many Englishmen supported by the *Englishman* newspaper that the breach between them and the people of this country can never healed. But it may be said in reply that the relationship between the Englishman and the Indians admits of no suggestion of any intimacy at all. The Englishman originally came to this country for trading purposes, and through good fortune they easily won its crown. Though they are thus the rulers of India on the one hand, and merchants with honeyed tongues on the other, yet the country is not their own, the climate does not suit them, and they consider themselves fortunate if they can return to their own shores.

Their relationship with us is therefore one of give-and-take; they are the rulers and we are the ruled, they are the shop-keepers, and we the customers, and it is enough if we buy goods from their shops and obey the laws passed by them. Therefore we are obliged to say that there has been no breach between the Englishman and the Indian which needs to be healed.

HITVARTA, June 3rd, 1909.

Unity in India.

56. In an article on unity in India the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd June points out that there can be no unity without a common purpose, and to secure it is not necessary that there should be distinction of caste or creed. To explain this, the paper takes the case of an inn occupied by men of different castes and creeds, who will join to attack a robber who might enter it for the purpose of committing theft. If every Indian is convinced that his own good lies in the efforts to improve the whole country, it would furnish a common object and conduce to unity. Thus the efforts made to attain the common object is the cause and unity is its fruit. But people, owing to bad education, reverse this natural order and disappointment is the result. The paper regrets the idea entertained in some quarters that so long as we do not embrace each other disregarding all the differences of caste and religion there can be no unity in the country. The idea is not only erroneous but mischievous, too, as this would disintegrate society in a way never to be joined again.

MATRIBHUMI, June 3rd, 1909.

Swadeshi and boycott.

57. Since Lord Morley has declared that the partition will not be remedied, the *Matribhumi* [Chandernagore] of the 3rd June exhorts the Bengali to carry on the *swadeshi* agitation with redoubled vigour.

The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 1st June after an expression of joy at the diminution in the Indian imports of piece-goods in April 1909, as compared with April 1908, and of sorrow at the increase the imports of sugar during the same period, proceeds to dwell on the mischievous effects from the Indian's point of view of the steady growth of Indian exports of raw-produce which England encourages, in order that she may work them up into manufactured products at home and then sell them here at high prices. In fact the interests of Englishmen are so essentially bound up with the maintenance of this import and export business that they treat as sedition all movements directed against the discouragement of this trade.

The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd June remarks to the above effect.

The *Bharat Bandhu* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June also dwells on the mischief of exporting raw materials and importing manufactured goods in their stead.

In commenting on the state of the cloth market as reported in the *Capital* of the last week, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June says it is not at all satisfactory and asks what those who do not admit the success of the *swadeshi* have to say now.

The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 8th June takes the decline in Indian imports, particularly imports of piece-goods, brought out by the recently published official figures for 1908-09, as an indication of the triumph of *swadeshi*, in spite of all the attempts of the Collector of Customs to explain it by the lesser purchasing power of the people because of famines and the high prices of food grains prevailing in the country. On the whole the figures of the foreign trade of Bengal last year are hopeful and indicate that our cloth industry is progressing.

In an article on patrictism, the *Bharat Bandhu* [Calcutta] of the 2nd June advises its Marwari readers to follow the example of the Bengalis in adopting the *swadeshi* and developing *swadeshi* trade, instead of remaining contented with broker's business which they have been doing so long, for anything done against the needs of the moment brings on ruin.

Tho *Burdwan Sanjivani* [Burdwan] of the 1st June writes:—

We Hindus must all be believers in our *Shastras*, we must conform all our manners, customs, rights and actions to the injunctious of the *Shastras*, we must glorify our country, and we must try to please our ancestors in Heaven, who are always grieving at our religious degradation. This is the only means of attaining full success in our endeavours for the *swadeshi* cause.

In noticing a recent expression of opinion by a Mr. Robert Elliott in the pages of the *Westminster Gazette*, that unless sedition is sternly repressed in India, English capital will get shy and will not seek investment in that

country, the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 1st June writes that so far it was Indian capital which was held to be shy and not English. And Indian capital was so long shy, because the trade of the country was a monopoly in the hands of the English, and Indian capital had only the leavings thereof to invest in. If English capital be now really getting shy, these reason will probably be that the respective positions of English and Indian capital in regard to Indian trade are going to be reversed. And probably it is this attempt at reversal which Mr. Elliott dubs sedition.

58. Quoting figures for export of wheat from India during the last five years, the *Marwari* [Calcutta] of the 4th June says that this unrestricted export is the cause of famine in the country and regrets that Government should not be taking steps to prevent the export.

MARWARI, June 4th, 1909.

Export of India.

59. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd June hails with delight the change that is coming over the Musalman Press such as the *Paisa Akhbar* of Lahore, *Moslem Gazette* of Aligarh and others, which, seeing the futility of asking Government for empolyment of the Muhammadans in the public service and of eschewing politics, are now advocating self-reliance, thus joining their tune with that of the Hindus. This is the common ground on which the two sections of the community meet on equal terms.

HITVARTA, June 3rd, 1909, etc.

Change in the spirit of the Muhammadan Press.

60. The *Darus Sultanat* [Calcutta] of the 4th June has given a translation of the speech of the Earl of R(?) in the Commons on the Muhammadan representation.

DARS SULTANAT, June 4th, 1909.

The Muhammadan representation.

61. In announcing the establishment of a Musalman Association for Bengal under the name of "Anjuman-i-Musalman Bangla," with head-quarters at Murshidadad, the *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 4th June thus briefly states what its objects should be :—

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR, June 4th, 1909.

A new Musalman Association.

The object of the Association is not merely to present addresses to high officials and send up memorials to Government praying for favour. Rather it should seek to raise subscriptions for popularising education amongst Musalmans, by the establishment of Madrassas, Muktabs and Boarding-houses, and of scholarships for indigent but intelligent students. It should try to protect Musalmans from influences which are working their ruin, and to promote industrial activity among the followers of Islam. And most of all, it should act as a unifying agency for the entire community.

62. The *Tirhut Samachar* [Muzaffarpur] of the 3rd June contains the substance of the result of the interview granted by Mr. Arabindo Ghose to a representative of the *Sanjivani*.

TIRHUT SAMACHAR, June 3rd, 1909.

Mr. Arabinda Ghose interviewed.

63. The *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 5th June contains a summary of the speech delivered by Mr. Arabindo Ghose before the Utterparah Dharam Rakshini Sabha, also of his experiences in the Jail while an under-trial prisoner.

BIHAR BANDHU, June 5th, 1909.

Arabindo Ghose's speech.

64. The *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 5th June says that it cannot excuse Mrs. Annie Besant for calling Mr. Arabindo Ghosh an anarchist in spite of her extolling him for other qualities at an interview with a representative of the Press in England.

BHARAT MITRA, June 5th, 1909.

Mrs. Annie Besant on Mr. Arabindo.

65. The *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June hopes that the memorial submitted to Government by Hasanand about the protection and better treatment of cows and ensuring the purity of milk will receive sympathetic consideration it obviously deserves.

HINDI BANGAVASI, June 7th, 1909.

Memorial to Government about the treatment of cows.

66. The *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 7th June gives the various versions touching the death of a Brahmin named Manna Lall in the employment of a Marwari named Siv Narayan Sagarmal of Cotton Street, and about which the Marwari community of Calcutta is just now very much agitated. The article is headed "a Murder or a Natural death."

HINDI BANGAVASI, June 7th, 1909.

A Marwari Brahmin's death in Calcutta.

URIYA PAPERS.

NILACHAL SAMACHAR, May 21st, 1909.

Litigation on the increase in India.

67. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 21st May is sorry to find that the number of criminal suits in British India is increasing, while the number of practising lawyers is also on the increase. This is not a hopeful state of things for India.

NILACHAL SAMACHAR, May 21st, 1909.

Man-eaters in Angul.

68. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 21st May states that tigers are committing depredations in Mauzas Konja, Jambaria, Nuakheta, and other neighbouring villages in the Taras pargana of the Angul district, and that almost every day some men are killed.

NILACHAL SAMACHAR, May 21st, 1909,

An accident in the Bay near the Puri seaboard.

69. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 21st May states that a small boat, while carrying pilgrims from a ship lying at anchor in the Bay of Bengal to Puri was suddenly upset by rolling waves, and that though all the pilgrims were picked up without any difficulty, many of them lost their clothes and other belongings.

NILACHAL SAMACHAR, May 21st, 1909.

A dead body floating on the Markand tank in Puri.

70. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 21st May states that a dead body was seen floating on the Markand tank in the Puri town and suggests that the boy was perhaps drowned while bathing in the tank.

NILACHAL SAMACHAR, May 21st, 1909.

An obituary notice.

71. The *Nilachal Samachar* [Puri] of the 21st May mourns the death of Mr. Bhagirathi Rao at the advanced age of 83 in the Puri town. He was a Government pensioner for many years, having served well in the Police Department. He was a connecting link between the old and the new Uriya society. He seems to be the founder of a family that has supplied good many hands to the Government service. He was always on the side of education and progress in the country.

UTKALBARTA, May 22nd, 1909.

A fire in the Cuttack district.

72. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd May states that many houses in mauza Kalasiri, pargana Deogan, thana Jagatsinghpur, in the Cuttack district, were burnt to ashes by fire.

UTKALBARTA, May 22nd, 1909.

Tigers killing cattle in Dompara.

73. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd May states that tigers are destroying cattle in Dompara almost every day. The extension of the Indian Arms Act to that estate has prevented the people from possessing fire-arms freely. Consequently the wild animals go now unchecked. It is the duty of the Cuttack Collector to look after the matter without any delay.

UTKALBARTA, May 22nd, 1909.

Accidents in Dompara.

74. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd May states that four men while tending buffaloes in a forest near Padanpur, in the Dompara Estate, were overtaken by lightning, which killed three of them in an instant. The fourth man is under treatment in the Banki Hospital.

UTKALBARTA, May 22nd, 1909.

Accidents in Puri.

75. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 22nd May states that two girls and one boy belonging to Harachandi Sahi, in the Puri town, were drowned.

URIYA AND NAVASAMVAD, May 25th, 1909.

A Postal complaint in Balasore.

76. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 25th May complains that one-pice-postage-stamps are not always available in the Balasore Post-office, and that consequently Balasore newspapers do not find circulation in time. The attention of the Postal authorities is drawn to the matter.

SAMVAD VAHIKA, May 27th, 1909.

The Travancore riot case and obrervations thereon.

77. Referring to the judgment in the Travancore Riot case of the Travancore High Court, the *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 27th May observes, that not only the British police, but the police in the Native States also, are becoming distinguished day by day for their incapacity, ignorance and prejudices. It is strange that every case of importance is assumed to have some connection with political movements, and that not only the police, but even the Judicial officers are imperceptibly carried away by a political bias. It is further found that the sympathies of Judges and

Magistrates are generally in favour of the prosecution, specially in cases where Government is the prosecutor.

78. Referring to the Barrah Dacoity case, the *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 27th May observes that from the very commencement of the trial at the High Court, the attitude of the Bench was one of absolute impartiality. This case was started about one year ago, and a number of persons were harassed and made to rot in the *hajat* for a long time, before being declared innocent by the highest tribunal in the country. It is proper and humane that Government should recompense the sufferers to a certain extent.

SAMVAD VAHIKA, May 27th, 1909.

The Barrah Dacoity case.

79. A correspondent of the *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 27th May suggests that the Balasore Municipality should take account of the corrugated iron sheets brought from the slaughter-house shed blown down during Mr. Egerton's time and stored partly in the night-soil garden and partly in the Municipal office garden.

SAMVAD VAHIKA, May 27th, 1909.

An account of corrugated iron sheets belonging to the Balasore Municipality needed.

80. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 27th May sympathises with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his present distress due to the death of his wife, Bai Gulbai. She was his life-long companion and passed away in her eightieth year on Saturday last. It was her graceful influence that sweetened the strenuous labours of her illustrious husband during the past 60 years. May God grant strength to Mr. Naoroji to bear his loss with faith and resignation!

SAMVAD VAHIKA, May 27th, 1909.

Sympathy with the present distress of the Grand Old Man of India.

81. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 29th May gives an account of the proceedings of a Darbar, held at Talcher by the people of that State, aided by the State officials under the presidency of the Raja of Pallahera, who was present there by accident, with the object of congratulating the Chief of Talcher, on whom the powers of a Sessions Court have recently been conferred by the British Government. The Darbaris presented the Chief with an address, in which they expressed their loyalty and their good will, and hoped that the Chief of Talcher would prove equal to his new dignity. The Chief replied to the address in a short and humble speech, expressing his thanks and obligations to the Talcher people for whose good he lives.

GARJATBASINI, May 29th, 1909.

A Darbar in Talcher.

82. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 29th May gives an account of the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj in Talcher. This annual meeting was presided over by the Raja of Pallahera, who electrified the audience by a nice little stirring speech. The Chief of Pallahera made it clear that the Talcher Utkal Sahitya Samaj had quietly but steadily brought about an intellectual revolution in Talcher.

GARJATBASINI, May 29th, 1909.

An annual meeting of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj in Talcher.

83. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 29th May states that there was rain in Talcher in the last week, but not sufficient to meet all agricultural needs.

GARJATBASINI, May 29th, 1909.

The weather in Talcher.

84. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 29th May states that the showing operations in Dhenkanal have been arrested by want of rain-water.

GARJATBASINI, May 29th, 1909.

The weather and agriculture in Dhenkanal.

85. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 29th May states that the *Chandan Jatra* in Khurda was attended by 20,000 visitors, who took an unusual interest in its proceedings. The police discharged its duties quietly and satisfactorily.

GARJATBASINI, May 29th, 1909.

The *Chandan* festival in Khurda.

86 Referring to the Indian Councils Bill which has been passed into law, a correspondent of the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May, calling himself "Orissa," takes leave to observe that the interests of the Uriyas are not identical with those of the Bengalis and other advanced Indian races and that, therefore, the natives of Orissa should try their best to procure a separate electorate for themselves.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909.

A proposed separate electorate for the natives of Orissa under the new Reform Scheme.

87. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May regrets that the Conservancy Inspector, working under the Cuttack Municipality, has misappropriated a sum of Rs. 15 which he realised as conservancy rates from the rate-payers, and which he

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909.

Municipal defalcation in Cuttack.

has failed to credit to the Municipal account. The Municipal Commissioners, who have the Balasore Municipal defalcations before them, should take particular care to examine their accounts and to control their officers.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909.

A meeting of the new Municipal Commissioners in Cuttack.

88. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May gives an account of the proceedings of a Municipal meeting held in Cuttack, in which the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman were elected by the new body of Commissioners. The writer hopes that Babu Jagadis Chandra Rai Chaudhuri, who has been elected as Vice-Chairman, will take particular interest in the affairs of the Cuttack Municipality.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909.

The Trivandrum Riot case and observations thereon.

89. Referring to the final disposal of the Trivandrum riot case by the Travancore High Court, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May finds reasons to observe that the Police, both in British India and Native States, is in a rotten state. It is now necessary that the high authorities in those two parts of India should take vigorous steps to reform their police in every practicable way.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909,

A daring dacoity near the Cuttack town.

90. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May gives an account of the dacoity committed at Barada in house of Babu Tarachand Dutta, who is an important person of that village, which is situated within an area of 10 square miles from the Cuttack town. The dacoits were forty in number, and had invaded the house with various arms and with torch lights. Babu Tarachand Dutta was seriously wounded, while his servants were severely beaten. One of the dacoits was killed in the engagement, but it is difficult to identify him as his comrades carried off his head. The case is under Police investigation, but it has created a great sensation through all the neighbouring villages.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909,

A great fire in the Cuttack town.

91. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May states that about 60 houses in Kaflabazar, in the Cuttack town, with all their contents were destroyed by fire.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909.

Accidents in Puri.

92. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29tyh May states that two girls and one boy belonging to Patua Hatsahi, in the Puri district, were drowned in a tank belonging to Ananda Mahanti.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909.

An excessive and undesirable transfer of cattle from Khurda.

93. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May regrets to state that about 700 cattle belonging to people in the Bhubaneswar and Kapilaprasad, in the Khurda subdivision of the Puri district. were sold off to Muhammadan butchers at very high rates. This undesirable denudation of Khurda of its cattle is a serious matter from an agricultural point of view, and should therefore attract the attention of the constituted authorities in Puri. How can agriculture go on f the agriculturists are compelled by sheer necessity to sell off their only resource or wealth, namely, the live cattle.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909.

A racial question mooted by the *Uriya and Navasamvad*, but solved by the *Utkaldipika*.

94. Referring to the absence of Uriya pleaders from the evening party held in honour of Mr. Platel, the retiring Judge of Cuttack, of which a great deal was written in the columns of the *Uriya and Navasamvad*, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May points out that the information supplied to that paper was based on slender and insufficient materials, for there is no racial feeling between the Uriya and Bengali pleaders in the Cuttack town. There may be three or four narrow-minded gentlemen, tinged with racial bias, but that is no reason why a general remark should be made reflecting on the character of liberal gentlemen belonging both to the Bengali and Uriya communities.

UTKALDIPIKA, May 29th, 1909.

The God Hanuman near the Puri temple in danger.

95. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 29th May regrets to note that the Puri Municipality is now engaged in the unholy task of purchasing ·020 of land contiguous to the Puri Jagannath temple, on which stands the sacred image of Hanuman. This Hanuman had for his protection a shed, which is alleged to have been destroyed by the Puri Municipality. The Hanuman was

under the care of the Mahanta of Barachata, who once protected him from a Magisterial order in 1874. The object of the Puri Municipality is to purchase the seat of Hanuman and expel him from his present abode. The mere prospect of the commission of such a sacrilegious act by the Puri Municipality has given a rude shock to the Hindus of the locality, who are now busy drafting a petition to be submitted to the authorities on the subject. The writer hopes that the higher authorities will kindly condescend to respect the religious susceptibilities of the people in the matter.

BIDHU BHUSAN MUKERJEE,

Offg. Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 12th June, 1909.

B. S. Press—12-6-1909—57X—99 -T. W. L. & others

[CONFIDENTIAL.] No. 24 of 1909.

REPORT (PART II)

ON

NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending Saturday, 12th June 1909.

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LIST OF NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED AND DEALT WITH BY THE BENGAL SPECIAL BRANCH.

[As it stood on 1st January 1909.]

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
1	"Amrita Bazar Patrika"	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	K. P. Chatterji, age 45, Brahmin ...	4,000
2	"Behar Herald" ...	Patna ...	Weekly ...	Monmatha Nath Dey, age 40, Pleader of Bankipore.	500
3	"Beharee"	Bankipore ...	Bi-weekly ...	Sham Sankar Sahai, Pleader, and P. P. Sharma of Muzaffarpur.	750
4	"Bengalee"	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	S. N. Banerji, Kali Prasana Sen, age 38, and Kali Nath Roy.	6,000
5	"Bihar"	Patna ...	Weekly ...	Kali Kumar Sinha, B.A., B.L., Pleader of Bankipore, age 35, Kayastha.	750
6	"Hindoo Patriot" ...	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	Srish Chandra Sarbadhikari, age 40, and Koylash Ch. Kanjilal, Pleader, Sealdah Small Cause Court.	800
7	"Indian Empire" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	Kesab Chandra Banerjee, B.A., age 45, Brahmin, and Panchanon Mazumdar, age 35, Hindu Baidya.	1,500
8	"Indian Mirror" ...	Ditto ...	Daily ...	Rai Norendra Nath Sen Bahadur, age 60, Head of the Mahabodi Society.	1,000
9	"Indian Nation" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	N. N. Ghose, age 58, Bar-at-Law ...	500
10	"Indian Tit-Bits" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Satis Ch. Mukerjee *alias* M. Suttie, age 27, Brahmin.	800
11	"Kayestha Messenger"	Gaya ...	Do. ...	Jugal Kishore, age 36, Kayastha ...	500
12	"Moslem Chronicle" ...	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Abdul Hamid, B.A., age 37, Muhammadan.	700
13	"Musalman" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	A. Rasul and M. Rahman, Muhammadans	500
14	"Reis and Rayyet" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Jogesh Chandra Dutt, age 58, a Calcutta house-owner.	500
15	"Star of Utkal" ...	Cuttack ...	Do. ...	Kherode Ch. Roy Chowdhry, age 68, retired Head master of a Government College.	400
16	"Telegraph" ...	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Satyendra Nath Bose, B.A., age 31 ...	3,000

II.—Home Administration.

(a)—*Police.*

Secret police.

428. The *Indian Empire* thinks it impossible to ignore the opinion expressed by Sir Charles Dilke that the new system of police inaugurated within the last four or five years was not only a dangerous innovation but liable to become an engine of oppression. As a matter of fact, the records of Criminal Courts and of police prosecutions leave no doubt as to the correctness of the above assertion. Sir Charles Dilke has therefore done an eminent service to the cause of the British Government in India by drawing attention to this innovation, and the journal hopes the matter will be pressed home to the serious attention of the rulers so as to have the evil mended or ended as early as possible.

Indian Empire, 1st June 1909.

Mischievous activities of the Criminal Investigation Department.

429. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that, incredible as it may seem, the officers of the Criminal Investigation Department are apparently invested with the irresponsible power of arresting any man they suspect, without a warrant, and keep him in custody as long as they like. It is fortunate that the Barrah and Natore mail robbery cases have thoroughly exposed the tactics of some Criminal Investigation Department officers, showing how crimes or supposed crimes are actually created in this country as stated by Sir Charles Dilke. A remarkable feature of both these cases is that the responsible officers who conducted them from the beginning remained behind the scenes and did not enter the witness-box. In this way they were able to save their own skins and prevent more ugly disclosures.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 2nd June 1909.

The Midnapore case and the police.

430. According to the *Bengalee* there is a feeling in the public mind that the judgment of the High Court in the Midnapore case, admirable as it is, might have contained some strictures upon the police and upon those executive officers who had a hand in the prosecution. Not only have the police been found to be thoroughly incompetent and utterly incapable of distinguishing fact from invention, reliable from unreliable evidence, but what is tantamount to a charge of bad faith has been brought against them. The Government would be guilty of the gravest dereliction of duty, if it does not immediately order an enquiry into the whole body of circumstances connected with a case so thoroughly discreditable to the police.

Bengalee, 3rd June 1909.

Secret police in East Bengal.

431. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that like noxious weeds in a foul and dank atmosphere, the race of secret police agents seems to be growing rank under the present police regime in some parts of East Bengal. An eloquent example is published in the *Charu Mihir* of Mymensingh of the manner in which the blackest of all moral iniquities—treachery to a trusting friend—is fostered by the police with a view to running down persons they suspect.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 3rd June 1909.

The police in the new Province.

432. Commenting on the secrecy observed in the arrest at Dacca of the youth Santi Mukherjee, the *Telegraph* questions the necessity for such mysterious proceedings, considering that India is not in an unsettled state, nor is it honeycombed with terrorists as in Russia. Under Sir Lancelot Hare and Mr. Hughes Buller, it is perhaps not quite possible to expect an explanation. It seems that the quiet settled state of affairs is so foreign to their nature that they must do something or other to keep up the flame of discontent, so that in its lurid light they may justify themselves. It seems apparent to the journal that the rulers, especially of the new Province, will allow the people no rest.

Telegraph, 5th June 1909.

Dacoities near Calcutta.

433. A correspondent of the *Bengalee*, with the *nom-de-plume* "Reason" observes that the continual recurrence of dacoities bears out most conclusively the fact that the existing police administration in the Presidency Division is quite inefficient. Such was not the case before, since there were no dacoities a few months back. The reason for this growing demoralisation in the police efficiency in the Presidency

Bengalee, 6th June 1909.

Division is attributed to the removal of the head-quarters of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Presidency Range, from Calcutta to Cuttack. Efficiency can only be maintained by the personal control of the superior officer over the force on the field of actual crimes, and the vicinity of Calcutta being the infected one, it is reasonable that Calcntta and not Cuttack should be the seat of the head-quarters of the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Presidency Range.

INDIAN NATION, 7th June 1909.

The police.

434. Referring to strictures from the Bench of the Calcutta High Court on the conduct of the police with regard to the recent cases, including the Midnapore bomb case, the *Indian Nation* says: "There seems to be an ascending gamut of standard infamy on the part of the police in these cases, varied only to suit the exigencies of each instance. On no subject of public importance is responsible opinion in this country more unanimous than on the subject of police incompetence and corruption. How can the people reconcile the ways of a Government which, while protecting them from the thief and murderer, fails to do so from the tender mercies of the guardians of peace? The apparition that haunts them is not the spectre of a divided Province nor the anticipated consequence of class representation, nor yet the cleavage of racial antipathies, but the abiding scourge of a corrupt and incompetent police. From the street vendor who pays his exacted toll to the wealthy miscreant whose gold covers his crimes, the trail of the police besmears the land. And it cannot be suffered longer so to do. The disclosures in these trials have focussed public attention to police misconduct in a manner which it would be unwise of the authorities to ignore. If their arrogance extends to persecuting men of standing and education like most of the accused in the Midnapore case, the fate of poor obscure victims, powerless to seek redress at the Calcutta High Court, can well be imagined. A most disquieting implication is the apparent incapacity of the lower courts to check the criminal vagaries of semi-subordinate police officers. On them, in the cases that had come to light, falls an equal, if not larger, share of the responsibility of arresting and keeping in *hajut* large numbers of innocent and respectable citizens, who can have no compensation for the wanton affront to their good name and the contumely heaped on them. "The journal urges on Government the imperative necessity of vindicating its *bonâ fides* by the exemplary punishment of those guilty of the offence of harassing innocent men as only the police can. A police officer, once detected in malpractices such as have been exposed by the High Court, should be summarily suspended before a departmental enquiry is held. The journal protests against the appointment of Mr. Weston to assist Mr. Macpherson in the proposed enquiry. It would have been wiser to place the enquiry in the hands of an experienced official outside the district. A great opportunity has presented itself, and much depends on the manner in which this departmental enquiry is conducted.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 7th June 1909.

The secret police.

435. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes that the statement made by the Secretary of State to the effect that it was not necessary to order an enquiry with regard to the judgment in the Barrah dacoity case, puts an end to the hopes of the public, as to the possibility of some rays of light penetrating the black prospect of a secret police rule. If the open police *raj* is such a terrible nightmare, what must the regime of an intangible and invisible force be? If the above-board police can bring about a Midnapore scandal, why should not the public rightly fear much more terrible things from its under-board auxiliaries?

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 8th June 1909.

Panic in Dacca.

436. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes that the state of panic, prevailing in Dacca on account of the open and secret doings of the police, is the talk of two Bengals just now. The official disclaimer as to the system of espionage being regularly followed in the town has not improved matters in the least; for every one feels the vague dread of being shadowed and watched ceaselessly. No greater torture can be conceived than being a prey to such a shadowy fear. It is stated that Babu Rajani Kanta Gupta, a pleader of Dacca, was recently roused from his sleep at 1 A.M. by a man who requested him to see the District Magistrate and the Commissioner who were waiting for him. The gentleman would not stir and the man departed. If the police would think nothing of breaking in on

the slumbers of a man of his position, it can be imagined how they treat common people.

(*b*)—*Working of the Courts.*

437. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* enquires whether the result of the Midnapore case is calculated to lower or enhance the prestige of British rule in this country. There are people, officials and non-officials, who will lose their sleep and appetite over the acquittal of the accused. In their opinion the best way of preserving the prestige of the rulers is to stick to a wrong, however grave and glaring it may be, when once committed by the authorities, and take it as a settled fact. These are the real enemies of the British Empire in the East. There is no doubt that Sir Lawrence has infused great hope into the depressed hearts of the millions in the Province by the way he has been administering justice since his arrival here. Had his Lordship been sent out to Bengal only a year and a half ago, the executive authorities would not have gone so far, public money would not have been wasted so recklessly, the country would not have been turned upside down and untold miseries heaped on innocent long-suffering people. For three months the people did not know what peace was, nor what it was to enjoy food and sleep. Every one thought that his turn would come next, and that he would be dragged from home, handcuffed and consigned to solitary confinement. In short it was altogether a dreary life they led, feeling as they did, that the Goddess of justice had departed from their land. Although the Advocate-General, Mr. Sinha, withdrew the prosecution against 27 of the accused in September last, the reason why the other three were not also allowed to go back to their homes from the prison house was not explained at the time, though it can plainly be seen it was to save the face of the prosecution. The journal wishes Sir Andrew Fraser, who sanctioned the prosecution, were here at this moment.

The Midnapore bomb case.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 2nd June 1909.

The finding of the Chief Justice leaves no option to His Honour but to take severe notice of the conduct of those officials who are responsible for this huge scandal. Those gentlemen, who were persecuted so pitilessly, have also a duty in this connection. They should take shelter under the law to obtain redress for the wrong to which they were so mercilessly subjected.

438. While congratulating their Lordships, the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mukerjee, on the admirable judgment they delivered, the *Bengalee* feels constrained to say that the responsibility for the bungling in this case cannot rest merely with the police or even the local officials. It must be largely shared by higher officials, not excepting the late ruler of the Province. An enquiry was always necessary in this case and has been made imperative by the judgment of the High Court. Public opinion ought to assert itself in unmistakable terms, and ought not to be satisfied until definite guarantees have been secured that such disgraceful proceedings shall not be repeated.

Ibid.

BENGALEE, 2nd June 1909.

439. The *Bengalee* declares it is impossible to peruse the remarkable judgment delivered by their Lordships the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mukerjee without coming to the conclusion that everybody concerned in the prosecution, from the District Magistrate down to the Inspector of Police and the police spies, failed in his duty on some point or other; that there were grave irregularities to which all these officials were parties; that there was infringement of the law, and that the whole theory of conspiracy was evolved out of an ingenious and inventive mind. It is equally impossible for anybody to read between the lines of the judgment without discovering the strong grounds that exist for an open and exhaustive enquiry into the circumstances under which the case was got up and for suitably punishing everybody who had any share in this disgraceful transaction. In the matter of the extortion of the confessions, and the manner in which they were recorded, it is the view of the public that their Lordships have accepted, and passing from these particular incidents to the story of the prosecution as a whole, its generally suspicious character, its wanton improbabilities, its palpable self-contradictions, and its utter falsities,

Ibid.

BENGALEE, 3rd June 1909.

it is found that the same principle is illustrated. The case, indeed, never appeared to the public to be of a complex kind. The one thing they did not understand was how the Local Government, with the distinguished array of legal advisers always within its reach, could be persuaded to sanction the prosecution of so many respectable people on evidence so slender and so ridiculous. Had it not been for the existence of a High Court and had not the case in that Court been in the hands of Judges of the particular kind who tried it, it is clear that the accused would have had to serve out their monstrous sentences. But even if the judiciary were all right, even if the Sessions Judge had found out the truth of the affair and acquitted the accused, as the High Court has now acquitted them, they would have suffered already. It is clear that the police and the Executive between them can in this country make a man's life altogether miserable, even before the man has been found guilty. What is obviously at the root of the mischief is the absolute irresponsibility of the Executive, with its necessary adjunct, the omnipotence of the police. The activities of the people must, therefore, be now directed to the one end—more important than any other—that of making both these agencies amenable to public opinion and the control of popular representatives. An incident like the one at Midnapore can happen only in a country in the situation of India, and so long as India continues to be situated as it is, there will always be room for its repetition.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 3rd June 1909.

The Midnapore bomb case.

440. Commenting on the judgment in this case the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* declares that no sane man could for a moment believe that a widespread conspiracy was hatched for manufacturing bombs, with a view to murdering the District Magistrate, by men who had large stakes in the country, specially at a time when the police were searching houses without rhyme or reason. Mr. Weston laboured under the hallucination that 154 men of his district had conspired to murder him, and yet the conduct of the case was wholly entrusted to him and his henchman, the Maulvi. Mr. Weston was not only the investigating officer in this case as head of the police, but also the prosecutor and practically the committing Magistrate, the trying Joint-Magistrate Mr. Nelson being only a conduit pipe of his. Sir Andrew Fraser, the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Duke, the Chief Secretary, Mr. Maddox, the Divisional Commissioner, and Mr. Plowden, the head of the Criminal Intelligence Department, were also entirely in his hands, and believed his words in this connection as gospel truth. And Mr. Weston derived his inspiration from the Maulvi, his guide, friend and philosopher! As a fact, Mr. Weston was apparently hypnotised by the Maulvi and saw or fancied he saw spectres of bombs, revolvers and daggers in every bush; and he, in his turn, hypnotised the late Lieutenant-Governor and other officials, who also began to witness similar phenomena. And thus was the country turned topsy-turvy and all sense of security disappeared; and the authorities whose duty it was to protect the people from official high-handedness closed their ears against their heart-rending cries when they were dragged from their homes as conspirators or bomb-makers, chained like wild animals and consigned to solitary cells which are a terror even to the most hardened criminal. Great is Mr. Weston, but greater by far is his henchman, the redoubtable Maulvi, who could work such a miracle as to make the galaxy of authorities, from the head of the Local Government to the head of the district, swallow the story that all Midnapore—from "Raja to beggar"—had combined to wage war against His Majesty!

INDIAN MIRROR, 3rd June 1909.

Ibid.

441. The *Indian Mirror* states that the result of this case, following close upon the decision of the Special Tribunal in the Barrah dacoity case, raises the very serious question as to whether the police system in this Province is all that it should be. Two salient points emerge from this case: first, the reprehensible method adopted by the police in the investigation of the case, and, secondly, the disregard of the provisons of the law by the Magistrate who recorded the confessions of the accused. What strikes the layman most is why Mr. Weston, who, according to his own version, was interested in the case, not merely officially but personally, should have been allowed to take any part at all in the direction of the police operations. If the evidence in the case showed that the men, who were connected by the police with the conspiracy, were really guilty, it would be the

duty of every right-thinking man to demand exemplary punishment being meted out to them. But when it comes to harassing and persecuting innocent people, drastic action is necessary on the part of the Government towards those responsible for the same. The journal is of opinion that the police have been allowed far too much freedom in the repression of what is known as anarchical crime. Even conceding that the police in this country labour under exceptional disadvantages, it has to be confessed that the Indian police system falls far short of the average standard of intelligence, prudence and good faith. The methods which were pursued in the Midnapore case, and which have been condemned by the highest judicial authority of the land, emphasises the urgent need of an enquiry by Government. The journal hopes it will be impressed upon every member of the Executive service that, while it is his duty to put down wrong-doing of every kind with a strong hand, he is bound to see also that the safeguards of the law are scrupulously respected.

442. Commenting on the *Englishman's* article on this case, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that that journal is right when it says there was a conspiracy; but it was not, as the judgment shows, among the people, but among the panic-stricken officials. It is true that the discovery of bomb-making in the Maniktolla garden, the attempts to wreck the Lieutenant-Governor's train, and the attempted assassination of Mr. Kingsford had caused great commotion. But it was the story that 154 men in Midnapore, "from Raja to beggar," had conspired to murder local European officials, that naturally created real panic among the responsible rulers and led them to introduce a pitiless policy of repression and adopt drastic measures which turned the country upside down. The Advocate-General, as the recognised head of the bar, is the guardian of the prestige and dignity of the profession. But the present Advocate-General of Bengal was so carried away by his zeal in advocating the cause of the Maulvi that he deliberately imputed conduct to his professional brethren at Midnapore, which one usually associates with the worst type of Indian police. In other words, he did his best to take off the tar with which the local police had coated themselves and paint his own "learned friends" with it.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 4th June 1909.

The Midnapore case.

443. The *Hindoo Patriot* says it is apparent from the judgment in this case that the so-called conspiracy was without any foundation. The methods that were employed for the purpose of sustaining the prosecution, are not only objectionable, but open to severe condemnation. A judicious and timely interference by the authorities concerned in this case was all that was necessary when the bomb was discovered. The judgment of the High Court has completely settled this portion of the business, while the views taken by their Lordships are just and proper. The prosecution has failed to bring home the guilt on Santosh, and should now be called upon to explain how the bomb found its way into his house.

HINDOO PATRIOT, 4th June 1909.

Ibid.

444. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* thinks it easy to imagine the nature of the bitter disappointment that the result of the Midnapore case must have produced in the minds of certain Anglo-Indian papers, who wanted to have the Indian councillor, the Congress moderate, the candid extremist, the lecturer and the vernacular editor, and, lastly, the bomb-maker and the infatuated student—all confederates in the same conspiracy—laid by the heel and hanged in rows from the topmost boughs of the nearest tree. *Apropos* of the proposed enquiry into the Midnapore affair, the journal enquires whether the Government is not bound to accept as settled facts such definite conclusions already arrived at in the highest Judicial Court, as, for instance, (1) the fact that the Midnapore case was a myth; (2) the extrordinary conduct of the Maulvi, who worked up the case and became the virtual "King of Midnapore" as soon as the conspiracy case was discovered; (3) the conduct of so intelligent and experienced an officer in permitting such a scandal to take place in his district; (4) the Officiating Advocate-General's methods: his reckless imputation against the defence Counsel, to the effect that they had smuggled into the record the petition of retraction of Santosh in collusion with the Court officials, was unworthy of his position; (5) the conduct of those responsible for the handcuffing, roping and solitary confinement of the accused. The end of this case has brought out vividly once more the failings of the police, which result in defeating the very

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 5th June 1909.

Ibid.

object of their existence. One of their chief defects which affect the people is that they consider the securing of conviction of an accused the sole end of their exertions. And as they stick at nothing in getting up the necessary evidence to gain that end, a close scrutiny in a truly judicial and unbiassed spirit at once discloses its patched-up character, and their case, generally speaking, falls to the ground (unless they get a Judge or Magistrate after their heart). So, again and again, thanks to their misguided zeal and ingenuity, serious misdeeds (of individuals or mobs, premeditated or unpremeditated) have remained undetected, and the offenders have enjoyed perfect immunity, while innocent parties have been arrested, imprisoned and treated like hardened criminals. If the latter have escaped after all ("after all," in a literal sense, *i.e.*, after they have gone through all they would have had to suffer had they been really guilty), it is in spite of the police, through providential intervention as it were. The Midnapore affair will live in history as a climax of their achievements, as in it they had no riot or dacoity or any other tangible form of crime to go upon, but harassed innocent people on the strength of imaginary concoctions. Surely the ways of the police call for a thorough overhauling. Cases such as alluded to above have made them a terror to the good and a protection to the evil-doer.

INDIAN MIRROR, 5th June 1909.

The Midnapore case.

445. K. C. Kanjilal, writing to the *Indian Mirror*, states that the Magistrates who enquired into and committed the Midnapore case, the Barrah dacoity case, the Natore mail robbery case, and partially the Bighati dacoity and Alipore bomb cases to the Sessions or to the Special Tribunal, have cast all rules of evidence and procedure to the winds, treating the police reports as gospel truth. Had they exercised their judicial discretion in testing such report on independent corroborative evidence, before ordering prosecution, the disgraceful disclosures now made by the High Court would have been avoided. Such cases moreover accentuate the necessity and importance of separating the judicial from the executive functions now combined in the same officer; for, it is an open secret that the consideration of magisterial prestige alone has stood in the way of this long-felt and most desirable reform.

INDIAN EMPIRE, 8th June 1909.

Ibid.

446. The *Indian Empire* declares that the annals of Indian criminal administration do not furnish two greater scandals than the Rawalpindi riot and Midnapore bomb cases, and as such the whole details are sure to be handed down to posterity, to mark the utter unreliability of the Indian police, the all but omnipotence of that police for mischief, and the blind faith and confidence reposed in them by the executive.

One who calmly and dispassionately reads the judgment need hardly be enlightened on the dubious and disreputable methods employed by the police and countenanced by higher officials, who certainly should have known better and acted differently, so very clear, lucid and argumentative a document it is. Sir Lawrence Jenkins has done more for the allaying of the unrest and discontent than twenty Explosives Acts and many hundredweights of repressive measures. And for this his Lordship eminently deserves not merely the gratitude of the people but the thanks of his own countrymen.

(c)—*Jails.*

BENGALEE, 2nd June 1909.

Janmastami stabbing case.

447. The *Bengalee* learns that the two accused in this case have been kept in solitary confinement since the 9th of April, and that their legal advisers were not permitted to interview their clients during the period of confinement. Commenting on this, the journal states that although the highest judicial authority in the Province may think that undertrial prisoners cannot under the law be detained in solitary cells, mufassal Magistrates and Judges and officials in charge of prisons are apparently omnipotent and seem to be at liberty to follow their own ideas or a secret code which is not within the judicial cognisance of the Chief Justice and the High Court.

(*h*)—*General.*

448. The *Bengalee* observes that when Lord Morley declared that if he could not transfer British institutions to India, he would, at any rate, infuse the spirit of those institutions into its administrative system, he was laying down an impossible ideal. India may be merely a dependency and Englishmen may have a very high opinion of themselves. Still it is as true in this case as in any other that the stronger party will not, perhaps cannot, be just to the weaker, except in so far as the latter asserts itself and makes the path of justice, so far as the stronger is concerned, also the path of expediency. The saying—that a people will in the last resort have very much the form of Government it deserves—may be a half-truth in the sense that the people may be either killed or have all its manhood crushed out of it by agencies that to it partake of the character of fate, so invincible are they. India cannot assert herself without bringing about a change in the form and system of her Government; and it is equally true that any change in her Government, to be real, must be proportionate to the extent of her self-assertion and the development of her life and character.

BENGALEE, 2nd June 1909.

An impossible ideal.

449. Commenting on Mr. Asquith's statement that deportation has been resorted to for the sole purpose of preserving the country from internal commotion, the *Bengalee* enquires on whose testimony did the Government arrive at the conclusion that there was likelihood of an internal commotion, and that the arrest and detention of the nine Bengali gentlemen would prevent that commotion? The public believe, and the Government has given them good cause for believing, that the testimony was none other than that of the police—the same police who were responsible for the Barrah Dacoity case, the Natore mail robbery case, the Alipore bomb case and the Midnapore case. Is it safe, the people ask, to base such extreme measures as the deportation without trial of respectable people on reports submitted by members of a force, who, for the most part, are either so thoroughly incompetent or so thoroughly unreliable? The police, who in this country find such great difficulty in dealing with ordinary crime, are hopelessly incapable of distinguishing what is legitimate political agitation from what is agitation of the unlawful type. It has been openly alleged in a Calcutta paper that the very first question which a high police official put to Babu Arabinda Ghose, soon after the latter's arrest in connection with the bomb affair was—"Are you not ashamed of your part in such a dark and foul conspiracy?" And when Babu Arabinda Ghose said in reply that the official had no right to assume that he had taken any part in the affair, the latter said, "I do not assume, I know." If the report is accurate, this incident throws a flood of light upon the limitations of the police mind in India. If the deportations have been resorted to on the reports of officials of this type, the public cannot be blamed if they refused to see eye to eye with the Government.

BENGALEE, 2nd June 1909.

The deportations.

450. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* gives expression to the public hope that the decision in the Midnapore case will lead to the taking up by the Supreme Government of the matter of the deportation of the nine Bengali gentlemen. It would not be unfair to presume that the Local Government has been similarly misinformed with regard to the gentlemen deported. As regards the unrest, the information and evidence connected with it are open to the same question. In explanation of the necessity of police methods, in a form never dreamt of before, who knows what terrible pictures of unrest reach the Government? Such being the case, *i.e.*, the Local Government being so liable to be misled and misinformed, the reconsideration of the case of the deportees should not be too much to ask.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 8th June 1909.

The deportees.

451. The *Bengalee* cannot see how Lord Morley can persist in refusing to disclose the specific grounds on which the nine Bengali gentlemen were deported. The course that he has chosen is absolutely indefensible, and the fact that he has found it possible to stick to it for nearly six months shows the utter irresponsibility of his position. The Government profess to have taken action on information, no doubt supplied by their own officers, that these gentlemen were contemplating

BENGALEE, 8th June 1909.

Ibid.

measures calculated to plunge the country into "internal commotion." Reliance must therefore have been placed in the Criminal Investigation Department or in the ordinary police. Now the world has lately seen how little reliance can legitimately be placed in this country in police officials, however high. Has not even the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, been openly alleged to have told Babu Arabinda Ghose that he "knew" he was guilty? And yet Babu Arabinda Ghose had to be acquitted, after a protracted trial, because there was no evidence against him! Did not even Mr. Weston believe that there was a conspiracy at Midnapore, and that some, at any rate, of the persons sought to be implicated by the police were really connected with it? Yet the High Court has practically refused to believe that there was a conspiracy, or, at any rate, that any of the persons arrested by the police had anything to do with it. After such disclosures, the deportees cannot be detained a moment longer without serious detriment to the prestige of Lord Morley and the Viceroy.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA. 8th June 1909.

Deportations.

452. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that if the responsible ministers will not vouchsafe a straight answer to a straight question with regard to the deportees, it is because they are feigning sleep and have assumed the attitude of justifying an impossible position. In the opinion of such liberal ministers as Mr. Asquith, Lord Morley and Mr. Birrell, to deport a man untried and uncharged in England and Ireland is a great wrong. In the case of Indians, however, deportation without trial is not only justifiable but an absolute necessity, because, according to Lord Morley, the Indians were unfit and the Europeans fit for self-Government, since the former used cotton fabrics and the latter fur-coats. "Government by phrases" appears to be a new feather in the cap of the present ministry. But it has never succeeded. As regards Mr. Asquith's phrase, that deportation without trial in India is preventive and not punitive, the journal thinks it needless to explain that the reverse is the case—it is not preventive but punitive. Deportation cannot have a preventive effect on those who have determined to set the law at defiance. The journal feels justified in holding that deportation without trial in the case of an Indian is excusable to most Englishmen, though they would raise a cry of protest where any of their countrymen is so treated.

BENGALEE, 2nd June 1909.

The crowning feat.

453. The *Bengalee* declares that in separating the cadre of the I. C. S. for the two Bengals, Lord Morley has achieved the crowning feat of his whole tenure of office. The partition of Bengal still darkens the whole prospect. The agitation and unrest that claimed his attention were the direct outcome of the outrage on Bengali sentiment perpetrated by Lord Curzon, apologised for by Lord Minto, and confirmed and perpetuated by Lord Morley. The journal holds His Excellency responsible for the failure of his Viceroyalty to conciliate estranged Bengal. The making of the partition into a "settled fact" has been the undoing of his regime. Not that the journal is disposed to undervalue the reforms, so far as they go. But they matter nothing to the Bengalis—aye, to Indians—because, in actual fact they have been preceded, as they have been accompanied, by measures of the Executive Government palpably unjust. Taking the long series of repressive measures,—the prohibition of public meetings, the terrorism of the press prosecutions, the deportations, and last, though not least, the perpetuation of the partition of Bengal, into consideration, no reasonable man, no matter what the complexion of his politics may be, can maintain for one moment that even the reforms, which deliberately pit sectional against national interests, are worth serious consideration in the face of the cynical outrage upon public justice for which the deportations and the maintenance of the partition stand.

The cadre of the I. C. S. is much too artificial a matter to stand in the way of any future statesman undoing the partition. For undone it will and must be, no matter what further important steps Lord Morley may take. These artificial dividing lines can be as quickly unmade as they are quickly made.

BENGALEE, 4th June 1909.

An irresponsible Executive.

454. The *Bengalee* observes that, so far as individual officers are concerned, the people gain nothing by fixing the responsibility of any particular measure. The partition of Bengal is not only the gravest blunder since Plassey, but the most grievous

wrong that has been done to the people during the life-time of the present generation. It is known who the author of this wrong is; but there is no one to punish him. It is also known who the authors of the Calcutta Municipal Act, the Universities Act and the Sedition Act are, as well as the moving spirits of the recent prosecutions. But how are these men to be dealt with under the present circumstances? And if they cannot be dealt with, or if those who can deal with them, will, instead of punishing them, promote them over the heads of their seniors, no doubt for "meritorious services entirely unconnected with these cases," there is no use of wasting much powder and shot over assigning direct responsibility when it can be assigned. The journal suggests that those very officials, who have wrought such havoc in this country during the last few years, should be sent to England or the United States, where they will have other uses for their activities. Nothing like a radical cure is possible for any of the existing ills, so long as the present system remains unaltered. In the official world, a transformation of the system of Government is even more essential than the punishment of erring or perverse officials. And the essence of the present system is the utter irresponsibility of the executive. That is the central source from which all the popular ills and misfortunes emanate. It is to the people, therefore, to whom the executive must be responsible if they are to be responsible at all, and if their responsibility is to have a meaning. In this sense the most pressing problem of the immediate future is the problem of converting the irresponsible bureaucracy into a responsible Government.

Midnapore enquiry.

455. *Apropos* of the proposed enquiry, the *Bengalee*, meaning no disrespect to anybody, says that a purely official enquiry can, in this country, mean merely a whitewashing enquiry. It will serve absolutely no useful purpose. The public will not accept its conclusions, and if the Government wants merely to satisfy itself, it would be more economical to hold a private enquiry. If the enquiry is to serve the only useful purpose that an enquiry can now serve, that of assuring the public that the present Government, at any rate—the Government of Sir Edward Baker—is determined to do what is right and punish wrong-doers and of exposing the methods that are employed by a section of the police in this country, both for inventing crime as well as for getting up imaginary cases with a view to harassing innocent men—the enquiry must be held by a mixed Commission. If the Chief Justice himself could hold an enquiry or such of his colleagues as enjoy an unstinted measure of public confidence, the question would, of course, be different. But since that is not to be expected, there is no other way to ensure public confidence than by appointing an equal number of officials and representative non-officials to sit on the Commission. The journal hopes this will be done, especially as the judgment of the High Court has demonstrated the necessity of an absolutely free and impartial enquiry in an indisputable manner.

BENGALEE, 4th June 1909.

Proposed enquiry into the Midnapore case.

456. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* finds it hard to believe in the accuracy of the statement appearing in a contemporary to the effect that there is to be a departmental enquiry into the Midnapore case, conducted by the Commissioner, and that Mr. Weston will remain to render any assistance necessary. If it is correct, then a more fantastic arrangement cannot be conceived. The proposed enquiry will be conducted by an officer of the department, namely, the Commissioner of the Division, with the help of Mr. Weston! But, is not Mr. Weston personally interested in the case? Is it not also a fact that the District Magistrate is simply a smaller edition of the Commissioner of a Division? As a matter of fact, Mr. Weston may one day occupy the position now held by Mr. Macpherson. Considering their mutual relations, would it not be a most difficult and delicate task for Mr. Macpherson to sit in judgment on a colleague belonging to the same service, with whom he is so familiar and working so constantly? Even an angel in his position would be in a fix, and Mr. Macpherson, with all his high qualities and strong sense of justice, is but human. The journal protests against Mr. Weston remaining to assist at the enquiry. He is practically on his trial, and an accused person is never to help at his own trial. The result of the enquiry, on the lines proposed by Government, can thus never satisfy the general public.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 7th June 1909.

The journal has specially one great fear in connection with the holding of a departmental enquiry. Suppose in certain points the result of the enquiry were not in accord with the finding of the High Court. What then? Of late the relations between the Executive and the Judiciary have not been of a satisfactory character. The fact need not be concealed that there has not been that independence of the High Court which it possessed during the days of Sir Barnes Peacock; and that, in consequence of the weakness of successive Chief Justices, it became, to all intents and purposes, a department of the Government. It is an open secret that Sir Lawrence Jenkins has set his mind to re-establish the independence of the highest judicial tribunal in the land, and it will be indeed a calamity if any thing happened so as to bring him into collision with the executive.

BENGALEE, 8th June 1909.

Midnapore enquiry.

457. *Apropos* of the proposed departmental enquiry into the Midnapore affair, the *Bengalee* says the Government has deliberately chosen the worse of two courses open to it, and it will have only itself to thank if the public will not accept the conclusions of an enquiry of this kind. That Mr. Weston will assist Mr. Macpherson in his enquiry is nothing short of an outrage on public opinion. This part of the arrangement is quite of a piece with the rest. The journal declares that in this matter, as in so many others, Government has simply flouted Indian opinion.

BENGALEE, 5th June 1909.

The reforms.

458. According to the *Bengalee*, the reforms were welcomed by the public because they represented the first serious attempt at conciliation after years of unmixed repression. After the enthusiasm of the moment had subsided, men began to ask themselves what the reforms would really give them. They discovered that the scheme *minus* an effective non-official majority, even for its limited purposes, was the semblance of a right without its reality, a concession in appearance but not in substance. This discovery was followed by a complete disillusionment with regard to the other hopes that had been entertained. The policy of the Government remained substantially what it had been. The deportees were neither released nor put on their trial; political prisoners of the unquestioned patriotism of Mr. Tilak and others were not to be granted an amnesty; the repressive enactments were not to be repealed, and above all, the partition was to remain. Little wonder that the enthusiasm evoked by the scheme spent itself in a few weeks and gave way to sullen despair. No political scheme ever has been or ever will be acceptable to a growing nation merely for its educative value, specially when it has such serious drawbacks as the present scheme, with its system of class-representations and its recognition of sectional interests, has. Conscious of the stirrings of a new life and a new ambition in them, the people feel that they will themselves be able to organise the country far more effectively and give it a far better political education than any official scheme could do. Naturally their attitude towards the reforms is one of indifference, pure and simple. The more self-respecting among them will possibly stand aloof and have nothing to do with the reforms. Those that will not will, for the most part, associate themselves with the operation of the scheme, merely for the sake of its indirect effect upon the country. None will value it for its own sake, except a few toadies—men who are always prepared to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 5th June 1909.

The exodus to Darjeeling and the Ranchi College.

459. In according its approval of the reported orders of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor discontinuing the annual trip to Darjeeling of the Bengal Secretariat, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that Sir Edward Baker will have to undo some other costly but useless hobbies of the late Lieutenant-Governor. One of them is the Ranchi College. It should be abolished, and the money intended for this institution should be devoted to the improvement of the Presidency and other Government or Government aided Colleges.

BENGALEE, 6th June 1909.

Imperial organization.

460. The *Bengalee* declares that no scheme of imperial organization can be said to be sound which ignores the two elementary facts that India must eventually have control of her own affairs, and that, like the other parts of the Empire, she too must have a share in the general control. For their part the people know that their destiny is in their own hands, and must be worked out by themselves, quite irrespective of what the "Imperial" organizer may think or do.

461. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is of opinion that Dr. Rutherford, speaking of the national movement in India, uttered the veritable truth when he said: "They fail to see that this national movement is like a great, mighty and beneficent river flowing from the everlasting heights of freedom. They fail to recognise that this national movement is irresistible. It must grow and it must increase. If we do not recognise it, then the danger will be enormously increased. I feel that the House of Lords have tried to dam this river, but it will only overflow and foster Nationalism." These were words of wisdom which the democracy whom Lord Rosebery wants the Indian delegates to guide would do well to lay to heart.

Dr. Rutherford's speech.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 8th June 1909.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

462. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that when the boycott movement in the beginning gave offence to the authorities owing to the overzeal of some young men, a proposal was actually made to Sir Andrew Fraser to take charge of it and advise the leaders how they should utilize it for the benefit of the country, without causing irritation in any quarter. But he was at the time in temper and did not relish the idea. But if he were a real statesman and an efficient administrator, he would have at once accepted the proposal and done excellent service both to the people and the Empire by directing national energy into its proper channel, and thereby putting a stop to the growing unrest which ultimately resulted so disastrously all along the line.

Sir Andrew Fraser and the boycott movement.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 3rd June 1909.

463. The *Bengalee* has no reason to be ashamed of the temper of the Bengali people, if all that there is to be said against them is that they are always agitating against the Government. The people of India make no secret of their end; they want nothing less than constitutional liberty and the ascendancy of the people. This end will not be realised without the people being ever watchful of their interests and ready to assert themselves whenever an opportunity offers. The Government, where it is not popular in its constitution, is there only to surrender its powers to the people when they are ready to receive those powers. The readiness is a matter of preparation, and the stage of preparation is the stage of struggle between the autocracy or bureaucracy on the one hand and the people on the other, in which the former slowly gives up its powers one after another, and the people take possession of them. The process goes on with increasing velocity, until the people have become masters of the situation as they are now in England.

The temper of the Bengali.

BENGALEE, 5th June 1909.

464. According to the *Bengalee* the Indian National Congress began a work of transformation which the anti-partition agitation, with its adjuncts of swadeshism and boycott, completed. A movement like swadeshism was, indeed, inevitable. The patriotism of the Congress was bound by its inner logic to develop into such a movement. Such development had been clearly foreseen by some, and a few master minds had been engaged in consciously preparing the ground. The triumphs of swadeshism are writ large in the history of the country, but its great work was that of transforming what had been known as patriotism into nationalism. The good of the country was what the patriot had in view, while distinct national existence and the realisation of the highest potentialities of the people summed up the cry of the nationalist. Together these two terms might be said to sum up the new religion of India. So long as the people have no political power and so long as the Government of the country remains autocratic or bureaucratic, it is not of very great moment to the nationalist who are the people that actually rule. The appointment of Indians to the highest offices in the gift of the State has, indeed, some value alike for the Government and the people. To the Government it would mean direct and first-hand knowledge of what the people want, if the men appointed are indeed men of the right sort. To the people it would mean a relative humanizing of the conditions under which the struggle between the bureaucracy and the people

Bengali ambition.

BENGALEE, 6th June 1909.

is to be waged. But the struggle will be there all the same, and it is the struggle that matters. The conditions of the struggle may, indeed, differ in the two cases, but there is no difference, so far as the struggle itself is concerned, even between a purely indigenous autocracy like that from which the English people have had to win their constitutional liberty and the Indian bureaucracy imposed upon the country by another nation, from which the people must eventually win them. That is a truth which is absolutely patent to the nationalist; he is is, therefore, not the man to be deceived by concessions or killed by kindness. It is only the superficial who can find in the welcome accorded to the appointment of Mr. Sinha a ground for the cessation of agitation.

BENGALEE, 8th June 1909.

Organization.

465. The *Bengalee* states that education and organization sum up the immediate programme of the nationalists. In dealing with the problem of education, the duty of the people lay in giving Indian youth an education that would make them nationalists in the proper sense of the term, that is, teach them to look at the problems of life from the national as distinguished from the individual point of view. The end to be striven after in all organizations, great or small, is the realization of the national idea. What the nationalist desires is that behind all common purposes, and above them, there must be be the supreme purpose of building a nationality in India and making the nation as great and glorious as it can be. This means that all existing organizations have to be remoulded to some extent, so as to express this new idea each in its own way, and that new organizations should spring up where the old ones are not adequate. In the case of the so-called lower classes, it is all too patent that it is they who constitute the backbone of the nation. They are the nation, so to say, and any system of social organization which assigns to them a subordinate status as compared with the few who call themselves the upper classes is fatal to the existence or growth of a strong and self-subsistent nationality. The nationalist therefore must have it for his great aim to reconstruct the popular institutions with a view to curing them of those radical defects and making them, so far as they are capable of being made, the vehicles of the nation idea. In politics, it is the consciousness that there can be no nation in India, unless it is a self-governing one, that has led to the agitation for self-Government. The nationalist wants attempts at organization to be consciously made, and is therefore anxious that men should know what really is the high purpose which seeks its realisation through them. The consciousness of their mission on earth as a distinct nationality, will not only give a unity to the scattered efforts that are being made in various quarters in the several departments of life, but will accentuate them and will soon bring about a radical transformation of the existing state of things. In that hope most of the people live,

OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL BRANCH,
41, PARK STREET,
The 12th June 1909.

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